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15. BARTRAM (JOHN). Observations on the Inhabitants. Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other Matters worthy of Notice. Made by Mr. John Bartram in his Travels from Pensilvania to Onondaga, Oswego and the Lake Ontario, in Canada. To which is annex'd, a curious Account of the Cataracts at Niagara. By Mr. Peter Kalm. *Folding chart.* 8vo, half roan.

London, 1751

A VERY GOOD COPY OF THIS EXTREMELY SCARCE JOURNAL, which was printed without any authority from Bartram. The notes on the native plants are one of the most interesting and valuable features of the book.

Field says: "*This visit of the father of the naturalist, William Bartram, to the Central Council Fire of the Six Nations, is especially interesting, not only as having been made at so early a date, but as affording us in this work, a plan and view of the Long-House, peculiar to the tribes of that Confederacy.*"

General Braddock fought the French
within Ten Mile of Fort Duquesne,
near York on 9th July 1755
and was failed —

4 Days
13th Hepple set out of Williamsburg
Virginia & reached London with
about melancholy news on 4th 23 Aug
1755.

23 Aug

17 Feet broad

Shed

Our
Indians
Apartment

Our
Apartment

Common Passage, 6 Feet wide, & Fire Place.

80 Feet long

Chamber
over the Apartments



The Town of Oswego

Trading Posts



Ontario Lake

Traders Houses



Onondague River

To front the Title of Bartram's Travels.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

*Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions,
Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice.*

MADE BY

Mr. JOHN BARTRAM,

In his Travels from

PENNSYLVANIA

TO

ONONDAGO, OSWEGO and the Lake ONTARIO,

In CANADA.

To which is annex'd, a curious Account of the

CATARACTS at NIAGARA.

By Mr. PETER KALM,

A Swedish GENTLEMAN who travelled there.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE, in
Fleet-Street, 1751.

BOOKS printed for JOHN WHISTON and
BENJ. WHITE, in *Fleet-Street*.

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P R E F A C E.



THE following Journal was kept by Mr. *John Bartram*, in his travels from his own house near *Philadelphia* to *Onondago*, and *Oswego* on the *Cadarakin* or *Ontario Lake*. It is a misfortune to the publick, that this ingenious person had not a liberal education, it is no wonder therefore, that his stile is not so clear as we could wish, however, in every piece of his, there are evident marks of much good sense, penetration, and sincerity, join'd to a commendable curiosity. It was to gratify this disposition, and that of his correspondents request in *England*, that he undertook, after other expeditions, to accompany Mr. *Weisar* on the business of the government, and was honoured with the encouragement of some very judicious and generous noblemen *here*, since dead, and the friendship of the skillfullest botanists in *Europe*.

It may be proper to inform the reader, that the negotiations set on foot in the conferences here related, produced a congress at *Lancaster* in *Pensilvania*, begun the 22d of *June* following, which was attended with the wish'd for success, in an amicable adjustment of all differences between the parties, under the mediation of the governor of *Pensilvania*. This treaty was print-

ed the same year at *Philadelphia*, and is to be found in Mr. *Colden's history of the 5 Indian Nations*. A book worthy of the readers perusal.

This journal was by several accidents prevented from arriving in *England* till *June 1750*, and is now made publick without the author's knowledge, at the instance of several gentlemen, who were more in number than could conveniently peruse the manuscript. Had he intended it for publication he would have made it probably more entertaining and perhaps have retrenched some parts that make the least figure in it.

The friend to whom he sent it, thought himself not at liberty to make any material alteration, though as it now appears, many who seek only amusement in what they read, will in those places be disappointed where only are treated of the several plants with which nature has bountifully covered the hills and valleys he travers'd, with the various qualities of the soil and climate.

But when it is consider'd, of how great importance an intimate acquaintance with the natural state of this vast wilderness, and its capacity of further improvement is to *Great Britain*, and how little the endeavours of our countrymen have yet advanced this work, while we are indebted to our most dangerous rivals for the little we do know, who will, if possible, repay themselves by excluding us from all we do not actually cultivate, and leave us *that only* while they want power to take it from us : I cannot

but

but think this plain yet sensible piece merits attention. It is by pursuing the discovery of the interior state of this great continent, that we can scarcely fail attaining and end, the most worthy the aim of a great maritime power, honoured as well as strengthened by a fair progeny of the most flourishing colonies in the world, and of which a good *Englishman* with peculiar pleasure will find *P. Charlevoix* confessing (however unwilling to own any thing inconsistent with the glory of his country) *that France cannot behold them without Terror.*

Knowledge must precede a settlement, and when *Pensilvania* and *Virginia* shall have extended their habitations to the branches of the *Mississippi* that water these provinces, on the west side of the *Blue Mountains*, we may reasonably hope to insure a safe and easy communication with the most remote known parts of *North America*, and to secure the possession of a dominion unbounded by any present discoveries.

If this desirable prospect appear chimerical, because great and distant, it is at least true, that no obstacle can be pointed out, but what we may easily remove.

England already possesses an uninterrupted line of well-peopled provinces on the coast, successively begun within less than 150 years, she sees them every year augmented by an accession of subjects, excited by the desire of living under governments and laws formed on the most excellent model upon earth. In vain do we look for

an equal prosperity among the plantations of other *European* nations because every power has transplanted its constitution with its people. This surprizing increase of people is a foundation that will bear a mighty superstructure, we need no other proof than in the wonderful growth of one of the provinces, (*Pensylvania* I mean) which tho' the youngest of all, yet being more particularly founded on the principles of moderation (*the first of all political Virtues*) and every way fam'd for the wisdom and lenity of its government, is become the admiration of those who compare it with any thing related by history, and the well-known refuge of — *the oppress'd and persecuted*, who cheerfully abandon their native soil to purchase the inestimable blessings of liberty and peace.

The inhabitants of all these colonies have eminently deserved the character of industrious in agriculture and commerce. I could wish they had as well deserved that of *adventurous in inland discoveries*, in this they have been much outdone by *another Nation*, whose poverty of country and unsettled temper have prompted them to such views of extending their possessions, as our agriculture and commerce now make necessary for us to imitate. In this skilful Persons may employ themselves; but a more accurate observer than our author will not readily be found.

The welfare of a colony concerns the country from whence it derives its origin, in nothing so much

much as in the quantity of land broke up for tillage, the natural consequence of extending the frontier settlements. This is not only beneficial in proportion to the increase of vent, among the new settlers of commodities exported from the mother country ; but by preventing the additional hands from applying themselves to such manufactures as may interfere with the commerce, *effectually hinders* a mischief that might stop the advantages reaped before. A jealousy has long prevailed at home, of manufactures in *America*, and it has been usual for our manufacturers on various occasions to express this opinion in frequent applications to parliament, vainly hoping to force a consumption abroad from the weakest of all resources, *prohibitory laws* : But the wisdom of the legislature has provided the most effectual, if not the only remedy, by encouraging the vent of the growths of *America*, and thereby engaging the inhabitants to employ themselves in raising them ; a conduct grounded on the invariable observation, that perfection in agriculture naturally precedes manufactures, wherever a country finds a market for its produce sufficient to provide itself with the latter.

Mr. *Kalm's* narrative of his travels to the *Falls of Niagara*, is a proper supplement to the journey to *Oswego*, his voyage begins from that place, and carries us on further in the search of every thing worthy our notice in this country : This gentleman is well known to be

a man of worth and great skill in natural history, and his little piece besides the candour and veracity of the writer, derives a great value from its being the only account in our language of this stupendous object. *P. Charlevoix* an Author of good credit, (*where the interest of his nation and religion are unconcerned*) has given us a description perfectly agreeable to *Mr. Kalm's*, tho' much less circumstantial: It was in 1722, *he* was on the spot, and the heights had not then probably been taken by instruments, for he seems to think it very difficult if possible; He guesses the great Fall to be 140 or 150 feet from a measure taken by sounding; and adds, that he has seen small birds flutter just above the fall itself; we have likewise an account of this cataract *Phil. Trans.* N^o. 371. p. 69. from *Mr. Boruffan* transmitted by *Mr. Dudley*. *Mr. Boruffan* relates that the Governor of Canada's son the *Marquis de Cavagnal* had sounded it, and fixed the perpendicular fall at 26 fathom, this was also in 1722.

I cannot help taking notice of the alarm *Mr. Kalm's* arrival gave the *French* at *Niagara*. They are conscious their enjoyment of this Fort is a manifest violation of the treaty of *Utrecht* tho' they know the justice of the *English Nation* will not permit them to compell the *Seneka's* against their inclination to dislodge them.

Among other curious parts of *Mr. Bartram's* journal are his thoughts (thrown together at the end) on the Origin of the *Aborigines* of *America*;

rica; these conjectures are short, and it is likely occur'd to him casually, perhaps they are not all well grounded, or at most apply'd to any but the *Eskimaux*, however, the same sentiments on this subject have been supported by the learned *Grotius* in his treatise *de Origine Gentium Americanarum*, and in his reply to *J. de Laet*.

This question has long been agitated with great warmth, and every solution of it hitherto, has found opposers, because those who have engaged in the controversy have forgot, or wilfully mistook, that the point in dispute cannot reasonably be, whether it was actually peopled from one or more particular places? but whether it might probably be peopled consistent with the *Mosaic* history; other wise it would be hard to say, how all this enquiry has been so much confined to *America*, when the passage of the inhabitants to many other parts of the globe is attended with equal difficulties.

P. Charlevoix who has with great exactness abstracted the opinions and arguments of the writers on this subject, has observed, that besides the easy passage by sea from the coast of *Guinea* to that of *Brazil*: If it has not yet been demonstrated that the new world is contiguous to the old on the South, North-East and North-West, at least the contrary has not been shewn, so that the principal difficulties to be encountered, arise not from the want of a Passage, but from colour, manner, and language, which seem irreconcilable to any we are acquainted

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4000 2

quainted with on this side the Globe. But are the *Negroes* in *Guinea* more similar in these respects, to the rest of the world? Let any one tell me, why most of the *Africans* are black and woolly-pated, and I will shew him why the *Americans* are red and without hair on their chins, and many parts of their bodies. After all are we sufficiently acquainted with the utmost powers of nature? to be sure the offspring of the same pair in 3 or 4000 years might without a supernatural interposition become of various complexions, and suppose we were convinced of this, may not the infinite power that created our first parents, and miraculously wrought the confusion of tongues, have thus distinguish'd their posterity for purposes only known to his infinite wisdom. I ought not to omit that *P. Charlevoix* recommends a careful observation of those *American* languages, that have the marks of being original, and a comparison of them with those of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and gives very judicious Reasons for depending on a similitude in this, preferable to that of manners; I shall only add, that Mr. *Lewis Evans* a companion of our author's in this journey, and a skilfull surgeon, has lately publish'd a map of *New York*, *Pensylvania*, and *Jersey*, with part of *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *New-England*, chiefly founded on actual surveys. This map includes the route here described, which seems laid down very exactly. And is sold by Mr. *Bowle's* map and print-seller in *Cornhill*.

OBSERVA-



OBSERVATIONS

MADE BY

Mr. JOHN BARTRAM,

In his Journey from

Pensilvania to Onondago, &c.



THE 3^d of July 1743, I set out from my house on *Skuylkil River*, with *Lewis Evans*, and travelled beyond *Perkiomy Creek* the first day. The weather was exceeding hot. The 4th, we set out before day, and stopp'd at *Marcus Hulin's* by *Manatony*; then crossed *Skuylkil*, and rode along the west side over rich bottoms, after which we ascended the *Flying Hill*, (so called from the great number of wild Turkeys that used to fly from them to the plains) here we had a fine prospect of the *Blue Mountains*, and over the rich *Vale of Tulpehocken*; the descent into which is steep and stoney. Through this vale we travelled west,

west, and by the way observed a large spring 16 feet deep, and above 20 yards wide, which issued out of a limestone rock, the ground about it pretty level, descending gradually towards the spring which ran eastward. At night we lodged at *Conrad Weisers*, who is the general Interpreter, and who went with us; his business was to settle an affair with the *Indians* at *Onondago*.

The 5th, We crossed *Tulpehocken Creek* which runs east, and emptieth itself into *Skuykil*, and a little after a small branch of *Swatara* which runs West into *Susquehanah*. These two large creeks receive most of the water of that great rich vale between the *Flying Hills* and *Tulpehocken Hill*, from which the vale and creek receive their names, and is itself so called from the *Indian* word, signifying a tortoise, unto which the natives of the country have conceived it bears some similitude. And these two hills are the southern boundary of this fine limestone vale, many hundred miles long, and from 10 to 20 miles broad to the northern boundary formed by the *Great Blue Mountains*.

Having called on a man who was to go with us and carry part of our provisions to *Shamokin*, he could not get his horse shod that day, but we rode to *William Parsons's* plantation, who received and entertained us very

very kindly; his house is about six miles from the *Blue Mountains*.

The 6th, we set forward and ascended the first *Blue ridge*, from the top of which we made an observation, *Conrad Weisers Hill* bearing south 20 degrees east, the northern prospect to two gaps, thro' which we were to pass to the *North Hill*, N. 30 deg. W. about 10 miles distant. The top and south side of this ridge is midling land, half a quarter of a mile broad, and produced some wild grass, abundance of fern, oak and chestnut trees. Descending the North side we found it more poor, steep and stony, and came soon to the first branch of *Swatara* which runs between the ridges, and is 3 miles from the next branch, all very poor land; but on this second branch it is good low land, with large trees of 5 leaved white pine, poplar, and white oak, here we dined by a spruce swamp.

After dinner we passed the openings of two ridges, the last of which was by the bank of the principal branch of *Swatara*, the soil poor and stoney; then we ascended a great ridge about a mile steep, and terribly stoney most of the way: near the top is a fine tho' small spring of good water. At this place we were warned by a well known alarm to keep our distance from an enraged rattlesnake that had put himself into a coiled posture of defence, within a dozen yards of our path, but

we punished his rage by striking him dead on the spot: he had been highly irritated by an *Indian* dog that barked eagerly at him, but was cunning enough to keep out of his reach, or nimble enough to avoid the snake when he sprung at him. We took notice that while provoked, he contracted the muscles of his scales so as to appear very bright and shining, but after the mortal stroke, his splendor became much diminished, this is likewise the case of many of our snakes.

The north side of the Hill is not so stony as the south, but yet very poor. Thence we traveled 7 miles over several hollows, swamps and small ridges, full of scrubby bushes, and still poor and stoney to the last great ridge, which is composed chiefly of large gravel, as big as pidgeons or pullets eggs, and even the rocks seemed but heaps of the same materials; the descent on the north side is very steep and rocky, large craggy rocks are disposed on all sides, most part of the way down, which brought us to a fine vale, where we lodged by a creek called *Saurel*, and were grievously stung all night with small gnats, so that I slept very little.

The 7th, we set out west from *Saurel* creek and traveled down the vale, which is pretty good land: and leaving the creek, soon crossed another running along the north side of the vale, by the bank of which we rode through a grove
of

of white Pine, very lofty and so close, that the Sun could hardly shine through; at the end of this the two branches joined. Riding a little farther, we passed through a gap of a moderate hill, north by the creek side, where we found a fishing place, mostly a deep hole near a rock; there we went west on the north side of the creek, and dined at what is called the *Double Eagle*. The land hereabouts is middling white oak and huckleberry land, and by the creek side pretty good wild grass, and the 3d branch enters about 30 rood below; having crossed this, we went up a vale of middling soil, covered with high oak Timber, nearly west to the top of the hill, (most of the way being a white clay under a shallow surface), where we first observed the impression of shells in some of the loose stones, and from whence we had a fair prospect of the river *Susquehanab*.

The descent from hence soon brought us to *Mohony*, our lodging for this night. Here the soil is very good throughout the neck, formed by the river and the creek, which is about 3 poles wide. It rained this night through our old, tho' newly erected lodging, which was an *Indian Cabin* that we took the liberty to remove, knowing they usually leave behind them a good stock of fleas on the ground they inhabit; however, the wet deprived me of my rest

rest that I had taken so much pains to secure against the vermin.

July 8. We crossed the creek and rode along a rich bottom near the river for two miles, producing most kinds of our forest trees, and a large species of *Scutellaria* two feet high: thence along the river side, near a mile N. 20 deg. E. to the foot of a fertile hill, where leaving the river, our way N. E. through several narrow valleys and over small hills, generally middling land, yielding oak, hickory, chestnut, and some pine, to the summit of a high hill, where we saw *Shamokin Hill*, distant four miles only; going down we came to uneven stony ground producing pitch pine and oak, as far as the point of *Shamokin Hill*, whence we had a pleasant prospect of the fall of the river, quite cross without any great Rocks. The stream runs very swift, but canoes or flat-bottomed boats may go up or down well enough: the bottom of this descent is washed by *Shamokin Creek* three rods wide, this we forded to a fruitful bottom half a mile wide, beyond which, two miles good oak land brought us to the town of *Shamokin*. It contains eight cabins near the river's bank right opposite the mouth of the west branch that interlocks with the branches of *Allegheny*. It is by means of this neighbourhood that we may reasonably hope, when these parts shall be better known, that a very
beneficial

beneficial Trade may be extended through the *Hokio* into the *Mississippi* and its branches among the numerous nations that inhabit their banks. It were to be wished, that the *English* government in these parts had been more diligent in searching and surveying the heads of their own rivers and the sources of the others that run westwards from the backs of their respective provinces. Yet enough is already known to justify the surmises of *Mr. de la Sale*, who in his Journal addressed to the *Count de Frontenac* expresses his fears, lest the *English*, from their settlements, should possess themselves of the trade on the *Mississippi*. I quartered in a trader's cabin, and about midnight the *Indians* came and called up him and his squaw, who lay in a separate part where the goods were deposited, whether together or no I did not ask. She sold the *Indians* rum, with which being quickly intoxicated, men and woman began first to sing and then dance round the fire; then the women would run out to other cabins and soon return, leaving the men singing and dancing the war dance, which continued all the next day. An *Englishman* when very drunk will fall fast asleep for the most part, but an *Indian*, when merry, falls to dancing, running, and shouting, which violent action probably may disperse the fumes of the liquor, that had he sat still or remained quiet, might have made

made him drowsy, and which is even carries off by continued agitation.

As soon as we alighted they shewed us where to lay our baggage, and then brought us a bowl of boiled squashes cold ; this I then thought poor entertainment, but before I came back I had learnt not to despise good *Indian* food. This hospitality is agreeable to the honest simplicity of antient times, and is so punctually adhered to, that not only what is already dressed is immediately set before a traveller, but the most pressing business is postponed to prepare the best they can get for him, keeping it as a maxim that he must always be hungry, of this we found the good effects in the flesh and bread they got ready for us.

July 9. After breakfast *Lewis Evans* and myself went to the point of the mountain close to the N. E. branch, a mile and half up the river from our lodging, and good level rich land all the way ; we walked thither, carrying our blankets with us, and slept near three hours. Here we regulated our journey, and having taken a pleasant view of the range of mountains, and the charming plane of *Shamokin*, 2 miles long and above one broad, skirted on the West and North by the river, and encompassed East, and partly South, with lofty hills, besides a fine vale bordering the North West branch, we returned to the town and dined. In the
afternoon

afternoon. In the afternoon we borrowed a canoe, and paddled up the West branch. It is near two-thirds as broad as the North East or main river : I went ashore on the south side to the point of a hill to look for curiosities, but found none ; the rock consisted of a dark coloured shelly stone. Then we diverted ourselves with swimming, the water was chin deep most of the breadth, and so clear one might have seen a pin at the bottom. At night I hung up my blanket like a hammock, that I might lie out of the reach of the fleas, troublesome and constant guests in an *Indian* hut ; but I found my contrivance too cool for a place open on all sides, tho covered with a kind of granary, especially the wind blowing cold from the N. W.

10. We departed in the morning with *Shickcalamy* and his son, he being the chief man in the town, which consisted of *Delaware Indians* ; he was of the six nations, or rather a *Frenchman*, born at *Mont-real*, and adopted by the *Oneidoes*, after being taken prisoner ; but his son told me he was of the *Cayuga* nation, that of his mother, agreeable to the *Indian* rule *Partus sequitur ventrem*, which is as reasonable among them as among cattle, since the whole burthen of bringing up falls on her ; therefore in case of separation the children fall to her share.

We had many advantages from the company of these guides, were perfectly acquainted with that part of the country, and being of the six Nations they were both a credit and protection; and, also as we went to accommodate the differences, and allay the Heart-burnings that had been raised by a late skirmish on the back of *Virginia*, between some of these nations and the *English*, we could not but derive a confidence from the company of a chief.

We coasted the river near a mile to the ford, where we had a good bottom not above 3 feet deep; this brought us to an Island near 2 miles long and a quarter broad, pretty rich at the lower end, and near the river, but the higher end sandy, from the drift left there by the floods, it therefore produces little but *pitch pine*. After leaving the lower end where we saw several cabbins, we once more took water for the opposite shore, but the bottom is less even, though not above half as wide as the last, which is about 400 yards.

Hence leaving the west branch about half a mile on our left, and rich low ground between with gravel, oak and pitch-pine land on our right, we reached a pretty spring of good water, situated between the swamp and dry ground. This, since our passage over the *Blue Mountains*, was the only one we met with till we came near *Onondago*, for on that side

side the currents and creeks are chiefly formed by the water oufing and draining from the bottoms of the mountains and hills, and are gradually collected in this manner into rivulets. But on the south of this great ridge, it gushes out between the rocks in streams big enough to turn a mill, in other places rising and bubbling out of the earth in quantity sufficient to fill a pipe an inch square, or thereabouts.

Our journey now lay through very rich bottoms to a creek 6 miles from *Shamokin*, a great extent of fruitful low ground still continuing. Here we found a fine meadow of grass on our right, and rich dry ground on the left. In our path lay a large Rattlesnake, but he civilly crept into the grass, and let us pass by without danger. Our way from hence lay through an old *Indian* field of excellent soil, where there had been a town, the principal footsteps of which are peach-trees, plumbs and excellent grapes. A great flood came down this branch a few years past, and drove abundance of sand over this ground a great depth among the trees. It rose 20 feet perpendicular, washing away many yards of the bank, which was composed of gravel and sand, and doubtless had been raised to that height by former inundations, for the wood ground 30 rod from the river is several feet lower

lower than the bank ; a little above this devastation we dined.

And now leaving the river we held a new course over a fine level, then down a rich hollow to a *run*, where we saw a summer duck ; and so down the *run*, a little beyond this turns a path to *Wiomick*, a town on the east branch, hence N. N. E. then N. after W. to a rich bottom near the river, where *Shickelamy* formerly dwelt, at the upper end of which resistless torrents had carried abundance of sand into the woods. With this bottom we left the river for the present, and kept a variable course through the gap of the mountain N. and N. W. over middling champion land, producing some pitch pine, and large white and black oak, some swamps and brooks, by one of which we lodged in a fertile valley, that we reached before night.

11. About break of day it began to rain, and the *Indians* made us a covering of bark got after this manner : They cut the tree round through the bark near the root, and make the like incision above 7 feet above it ; these horizontal ones are joined by a perpendicular cut, on each side of which they after loosen the bark from the wood, and hewing a pole at the small end, gradually tapering like a wedge about 2 feet, they force it in till they have compleated the separation all round, and the bark parts whole from

from the tree, one of which, a foot diameter, yields a piece 7 feet long and above 3 wide : And having now prepared four forked sticks, they are set into the ground the longer in front ; on these they lay the cross-poles, and on them the bark. This makes a good tight shelter in warm weather. The rain was quickly over, but as it continued cloudy, we did not care to leave our shed. Here our *Indians* shot a young deer, that afforded us a good feast.

12. We set forward and travelled up the *Run*, bearing N. W. along a narrow valley, moderately rich, the hills hung with lofty timber, the stones generally flat, then up a steep hill, where I found fossil steel in many stones, the soil middling oak land ; and here had a view of a Bluf point N. by the river side ; then descending down a steep hill N. E. we came to a rich bottom by the river ; hence N. after N. W. to a creek, and so through a grove of white walnut and locust, and exceeding rich land, half a mile broad, and now some higher level land,affording oak,hickery,walnut, locust, and pitch pine, our course generally N. N. W. till riding over a hazel plane we met eight *Shawaneſe Indians* on horseback coming from *Allegheny*, and going to *Wiomick* upon an important account, as they ſaid. We turned back with them to the adjacent wood, and ſate down together under a ſhady oak ; the
ſquaw

Squaw which they brought to wait upon them kindled a fire to light their pipes ; our Interpreter and *Shickcalamy* set down with them to smoke, the customary civility when two parties meet ; *Conrad Weiser* understanding they were some of the chiefs of the *Shawanese*, acquainted them with our business at *Onondago*, a compliment they were so well pleased with, that they gave us the *Yohay*, a particular *Indian* expression of approbation, and which is very difficult for a white man to imitate well ; after half an hour's grave discourse several of them went to catch the horses, and one of the principal men made a handsome speech, with a pleasant well composed countenance, to our interpreter, to the following effect : ' That they were sensible with what ' an unwearied diligence he had hitherto been ' instrumental in preserving peace and good ' harmony between the *Indians* and *White* ' *People*, and that as they could not but now ' commend the prudence and zeal with which ' he had effected this laudable purpose, so ' they earnestly entreated and sincerely hoped ' he would still persevere in the same endeavours and with the same success, and that his ' good offices may never be wanting on any ' future occasion.

The *Shawanese*, or *Shaounons*, as they are called by the *French*, are the same people, the *Six nations* : and at *New York* are called *Satanas* ;
they

they dwell upon the *Hokio* and to the southward of it, between whom and that of the *Cherokees* is a river sometimes called by that name. It was against this people the six nations first turned their Arms with success, after they had fled before warlike *Adarondacks*, and having thus learn'd to conquer, ventured to attack their hitherto victorious enemies, who could not have supported this war without the unexpected assistance they received from the *French*.

After taking our leaves, we continued our journey to a large creek 4 or 5 rod wide which washes on each shore a charming country of rare soil as far as the river. On the other side of this creek we rode through a deserted Town in the neck between them; a few miles more brought us to our dining place, and in the afternoon we turned our backs on this branch, and rode N. W. down a valley 20 rods wide, wooded with pitch pine on the right hand and white on the left, the *Run* between; then N. W. by W. by the side of a hill and bottom of white pine, down which we rode 2 hours, upon better land, the N. W. middling land, now up a hill N. W. to a point, a prospect of an opening bearing N. then down the hill to run, and over a rich neck lying between it and *Triadaughton* bearing N. W. where we lodged within about 50 yards of a hunting cabin, where there were 2 Men, a Squaw and a child,

child, the men came to our fire and made us a present of some venison, and invited Mr *Weisar*, *Shickalamy* and his son, to a feast at their cabin. It is incumbent on those who partake of a feast of this sort, to eat all that comes to their share or burn it: now *Weisar* being a traveller was intitled to a double share, but he being not very well, was forced to take the benefit of a liberty indulged him, of eating by proxy, and called me, but both being unable to cope with it, *Lewis* came in to our assistance, notwithstanding which we were hard set to get down the neck and throat, for these were allotted us; and now we had experienced the utmost bounds of their indulgence, for *Lewis* ignorant of the ceremony of throwing the bone to the dog, tho' hungry Dogs are generally nimble, the *Indian* more nimble, laid hold of it first, and committed it to the fire, religiously covering it over with hot ashes. This seems to be a kind of offering, perhaps first fruits to the Almighty power to crave future success in the approaching hunting season, and was celebrated with as much decency and more silence, than many superstitious ceremonies: the bigotry of the popish missionaries tempt them to compass sea and land to teach their weak Proselytes what they call the christian religion. To this I may add another ceremony at bear hunting, as related by a celebrated author, this diversion being in the winter,

winter, when this animal is very fat, the grease that swims on the broth becomes a perfect oil, which the *Indians* frequently drink untill they burst — As soon as the bear is killed, the hunter places the small end of his pipe in its mouth, and by blowing in the bowls, fills the mouth and throat full of smoak; then he conjures the departed Spirit not to resent the injury done his body, nor to thwart his future sport in hunting, but as he receives no answer to this, in order to know if his prayers have prevailed, he cuts the ligament under the bear's tongue, if these ligaments contract and shrivel up, being cast into the fire, which is done with great solemnity and abundance of invocations: then it is esteemed a certain mark (as it rarely fails) that the *manes* are appeased. It was now time to return to our fire where we laid us down to rest.

The 13th, in the morning, the *Indians* repaid our visit, and entertained us with a familiar conversation for half an hour at the fire. We then set out up the creek, where I observed three noble white pine trees, with many large green cones hanging on the top and side branches over the creek, which was three rods broad and pretty deep, had these been ripe I know not how we should have got at them, as they were at the extremity of large branches, that hung over the Water, on which part of the branch they generally grow. Soon after we

E

came

came to a spacious level of midling land, oak, and pine, next to a large rich bottom, and at the upper end to an extensive grove of white pine, after this a grassy plain of 20 acres, then round the end of a hill, and along a valley, and run N. by W. high timber and good land on the hill side N. then W. and lastly, at half an hour after 8 N. here our *Indians* shot 2 young deer. The land and timber good, brown soil, and the stones flat and gritty. From hence going over a hill we saw a gap N. N.W. and descending down a steep part of the hill to the head of a stoney brook and hollow, we made our way through it, it was full of spruce and white pine; at the bottom we killed a rattle snake, then crossed the brook and traversed a rich bottom N. N. E. the upper end pine, spruce, oak, laurel, poplar and chestnut, some limes, stoney and brown soil, several times crossed the creek and over rich bottoms and stoney hill sides with laurel, pine, spruce and swamps, till towards night. On the north side of a deep stoney yet rich soil, I found roots of *Ginseng*; at night we lodged by a creek; and the two *Indians* that feasted with us, who accompanied us to the *Cayuga* branch.

The 14th, Having forded the creek we kept generally a N. N. E. course, mostly along rich bottoms interspersed with large spruce and white pine, oak, beach, and plane tree,
ginseng,

ginseng, and many more. We frequently pass'd the creek (which was very strong) for the mountains often clos'd on one side; it was big enough to turn two mills. At 9 o'clock the *Indians* fished for trout, but caught none, being provided with no other means of taking them but by poles sharpened at the end to strike them, and the water deep: at the foot of a hill we crossed the creek once more, and rode along a fine bottom, full of great wild nettles. The timber was sugar birch, sugar maples, oak and poplar, our course N. W. continued till after 12 'clock, then followed the east branch N. N. E. about a mile, all a rich bottom where we found a *Licking Pond*, where we dined, the back parts of our country are full of these licking ponds, some are of black sulphureous mud, some of pale clay, the deer and elks are fond of licking this clay, so that the pond becomes enlarged to a rood or half an acre, the soil, I suppose contains some saline particles agreeable to the deer, who come many miles to one of these places, there had been a great elk there that morning, but the *Indians* told us that many years ago some *Indians* quarrelled there, in the squabble one lost his life, and that this made the deer keep from thence for many years.

Now traveling up the run east, we left it on the right hand, to go up a hill covered with spruce, oak spruce, lawrel, opulus, yew, with

ginseng and ataliashum in abundance, then kept generally an east course, having several hollows and steep ascents and over many boggy rotten places, some laurel and very high timber, then down the side of a hill to an old beaver dam, over which we passed, and then over a large level of very good ground, tall timber and abundance of leather-bark or *thymelea*, which is plentiful in all this part of the country. Our lodging was in this spacious flat.

The 15th, We set out a N. E. course, and passed by very thick and tall timber of beach, chestnut, linden ash, great magnolia, sugar-birch, sugar-maple, poplar, spruce and some white pine, with ginseng and maidenhair; the soil black on the surface, and brown underneath, the stones a brown grit, the way very uneven over fallen trees, abundance of hollows, and heaps of earth, turned up by the roots of prostrate timber: hence it is that the surface is principally composed of rotten trees, roots, and moss, perpetually shaded, and for the most part wet, what falls is constantly rotting and rendring the earth loose and spongy; this tempts abundance of yellow wasps to breed in it, which were very troublesome to us throughout our journey, on the branches of *Susquebanah* our course this day was generally east, and we got through this dismal wilderness about two hours before sunset, and
came

came to oak and hickery land, then down a steep hill producing white pine to a creek called *Conuria* a branch of *Towintohow*, where we lodged in a bottom producing ginseng, farea-parilla mediola, maidenhair, darallia, panax, mitela, christophoriana, with white, red and blue berries, we had a fine warm night, and one of the *Indians* that had so generously feasted us, sung in a solemn harmonious manner, for seven or eight minutes, very different from the common *Indian* tune, from whence I conjectured it to be a hymn to the great spirit as they express it. In the morning I asked the Interpreter what the *Indian* meant by it, but he did not hear him, and indeed I believe none of the company heard him but myself, who wake with a little noise, rarely sleeping sound abroad.

The 16th, We began our journey up a little hill, steep and somewhat stoney, and then through oak, chesnut, huckleberries, and honeysuckles, the land poor, sometimes white pine, spruce and lawrel; thus far N. but at half an our after seven N. E. through a great white pine, spruce swamp full of roots, and abundance of old trees lying on the ground, or leaning against live ones, they stood so thick that we concluded it almost impossible to shoot a man at 100 yards distant, let him stand never so fair. The straight bodies of these trees stood so thick, a bullet must hit one before it could fly 100 yards, in the most open

open part. At half an hour after nine, we rode down a small hill, and crossed a small run; then climb'd a steep hill of oak land, and by ten to a large creek called *Uskoho*, then round the point of a hill, midling land, and up the side thereof which was good, and down the other side very steep to a *Run*, with good corn land to the top of a hill in sight of the east branch of *Susquehanah*, so far we had pale clay land from the wilderness, though blackish on the surface, for 2, 3 or 4 inches, then down half a mile on a moderate descent, good oak and hickery land to a large rich grassy and weedy bottom, 40 rood wide, producing elm; birch, linden, lotus, white-walnut, and very large white pine, where the land is a little higher than common; at the upper end of this bottom we dined at half an hour after 12, we set out again at 3, course N. along a steep hill side, full of excellent flat whet-stones of all sizes, from half a foot, to 4 feet long, and from 2 inches to a foot wide, and from half an inch to a foot thick; I brought one home which I have used to whet my ax, scythe, chizzels and knife, and is yet very little the worse for wear, it is as fine as the *English* rag, but of a blackish colour: this lasted two miles close to the river which is here 100 yards wide, and deep enough for flat-bottomed boats, then we came to a very rich low land, most of the way N. N. E. to the *Cayaga* branch, near 100 yards wide which we crossed, then rode
near

near a mile to the town-house, bearing N. this town is called *Tobicon*, and lies in a rich neck between the branch and main river: the *Indians* welcomed us by beating their drum, as soon as they saw us over the branch, and continued beating after the *English* manner as we rode to the house, and while we unsaddled our Horses, laid in our luggage and entered our selves: the House is about 30 foot long, and the finest of any I saw among them. The *Indians* cut long grass and laid it on the floor for us to sit or lie on; several of them came and sat down and smoked their pipes, one of which was six foot long, the head of stone, the stem a reed, after this they brought victuals in the usual manner: here I observed for the first time in this journey, that the worms which had done much mischief in several parts of our Province, by destroying the grass and even corn for two summers, had done the same thing here, and had eat off the blade of their maize and long white grass, so that the stems of both stood naked 4 foot high; I saw some of the naked dark coloured grubs half an inch long, tho' most of them were gone, yet I could perceive they were the same that had visited us two months before; they clear all the grass in their way, in any meadow they get into, and seem to be periodical as the locusts and caterpillar, the latter of which I am afraid will do us a great deal of mischief next summer. Here one of our hosts at the hunting
cabin

cabin left us to go up this branch to his own country, that of the *Cayagas*, this night it rained a little, and the morning was very foggy.

17th. Day, we crossed the neck to the east branch of *Susquehanah*, up which we travelled along a rich bottom of high grass and woods of a fine creek, then over oak and pitch pine land to a swampy run and fine meadow ground, then east through white and pitch pine, oak, hickory and hazel bottom, and so N. E. to the river, where grew a white pine close to the water, with four green cones on, still we kept N. E. at 10 bore S. Here the river turned thus, occasioned by some high barren mountains on the other side, whose sides came close to it, and turned the stream in this crooked manner. We travelled through a fine vale of pine land. Here was a place where the *Indians* had been a *parawing*. They cut a parcel of poles, which they stick in the ground in a circle, about the bigness of hop poles, the circle about five foot diameter, and then bring them together at the top, and tie them in form of an *oven, where the conjurer placeth himself; then his assistants cover the cage over close with blankets and to make it still more suffocating, hot stones are rolled in; after all this the priest must cry aloud, and agitate his

* Vide Capt. Beverley's hist. of *Virginia*, 8vo. a curious and useful work, and the Baron *Labontan's* entertaining voyages in these parts.

his body after the most violent manner, till nature has almost lost all her faculties before the stubborn spirit will become visible to him, which they say is generally in the shape of some bird. There is usually a stake drove into the ground about four foot high and painted. I suppose this they design for the *winged airy Being* to perch upon, while he reveals to the invocant what he has taken so much pains to know. However, I find different nations have different ways of obtaining the pretended information. Some have a bowl of water, into which they often look, when their strength is almost exhausted, and their senses failing, to see whether the spirit is ready to answer their demands. I have seen many of these places in my travels. They differ from their sweating coops, in that they are often far from water, and have a stake by the cage, yet both have a heap of red hot stones put in. at 11 we dressed our dinner, and found an *Indian* by the river side, resting himself; all his provision was a dried eel; this he made us a present of, and we gave him a share of our dinner. Their way of roasting eels is thus; they cut a stick about three foot long, and as thick as one's thumb, they split it about a foot down, and when the eel is gutted, they coil it between the two sides of the stick, and bind the top close, which keeps the eel flat, and then stick one end in the ground before a good fire.

At half an hour after one we set out, middling oak land but stony, yet no great rocks; at 2 N. E. then N. good land, a rich bottom and flat stones on rising ground; we crossed the *Owagan* branch about thirty yards wide, Then half a mile to the town so called, where we lodged, there is very good land in this neck between the branch and main river. A little before sun-set I walked out of town to regulate my journal; but the gnats were so troublesome I could not rest a minute. They bit my hands so cruelly I was forced to give over my purpose. These are so troublesome from sun-rising to sun-setting that we could not rest while we were eating our victuals without making several fires of wet leaves round us to keep them off.

18. This morning we sent an *Indian* with a string of Wampum to *Onondago*, to acquaint them with our coming, and the business we came about, that they might send messengers to the several nations to hasten their deputies to meet them as soon as possible, for this town serves the five nations as *Baden* does the thirteen cantons of *Switzerland*, with this difference, that *Onondago* is at the same time the capital of a canton.

We set out at half an hour after 9, and travelled till 6; this day our general course was N. and N. W. having fine level rich land most of the way, and tall timber oak, birch, beech

beechn, ash, spruce, linden, elm and herb hierophilon, hepatica and maidenhair in abundance. We lodged by *Front Creek* in a spacious vale, and it looking like rain, we made us a cabbin of spruce bark, but no rain came.

19. We rode over good level land : after we came to very swampy bottoms, thickets and hills of spruce, and white pine ; here were three ridges of steep hills that run nearly E. and W. and with difficulty we rode over their steep cliffs, which projected close to the creek. We were several times obliged to ford it backwards and forwards. Several runs come into the creek on both sides from between the mountains, Now we came to most excellent level ground, than which nothing can be more fruitful, full of tall timber, sugar, maple, birch, linden, ash, and beech, and shrubs, as opulus, green maple, hornbeam, hama melis, folanum, gooseberries and red currans triphilum in abundance. Here we dined by a pleasant creek and choice land. After dinner we soon began to mount up a pretty steep hill, covered with oak, birch, ash, and higher up abundance of chesnut and some hickory. This is middling land, the produce the same for three miles as our land bears with us. It lies very high, and when cleared will have an extensive prospect of fertile vales on all sides. We then rode down a long

rich hill of moderate descent, where grew abundance of gooseberries; all the trees were crowded with wild pigeons, which, I suppose, breed in these lofty shady trees. I found many fossils on this hill.

Another fertile valley welcomed us at the bottom, over which travelling a mile we lodged at a *Run*, which our *Indians* told us emptied into the lake *Ontario*; if so, it must run into the *Cayuga* river, and so to *Oswego*.

20. We continued our journey in this pleasant vale until we ascended a hill, beyond which a flant brought us to two ponds that run into a branch of *Susquebanab*; crossing this we joined a part from the *Carugas* country; then over a rich level to another branch big enough to turn a mill where we crossed it. It was now three-quarters after 10, then good land to half an hour after 12 yet no hickory nor oak, but elm, sugar, maple, beech, birch, white walnuts, hop, hornbeam, and abundance of ginseng. After dinner we passed a branch of the great *Susquebanab*, down which lake canoes may go quite to where the river is navigable for boats. On the banks I found the *gale* like the *European*. This is the nearest branch of *Susquebanab* river to that of *Onondago*. Leaving this on our right, on our left we perceived a hill, where the *Indians* say *Indian* corn, tobacco and squashes were found on the following occasion:

caſion : An *Indian* (*whoſe wife had eloped*) came hither to hunt, and with his ſkins to purchaſe another here, he eſpied a young ſquaw alone at the hill ; going to her, and enquiring where ſhe came from, he received for anſwer, that ſhe came from heaven to provide ſuſtenance for the poor *Indians*, and if he came to that place twelve months after he ſhould find food there. He came accordingly and found corn, ſquaſhes and tobacco, which were propagated from thence and ſpread through the country, and this ſilly ſtory is religiously held for truth among them. Our way hence, lay over fine rich level land as before, but when we left it, we enter'd a miſerable thicket of ſpruce, opulus, and dwarf yew, then over a branch of *Suſquehanah*, big enough to turn a mill, came to ground as good as that on the other ſide the thicket ; well cloathed with tall timber of ſugar birch, ſugar maple, and elm. In the afternoon it thunder'd hard pretty near us, but rained little : We obſerved the tops of the trees to be ſo cloſe to one another for many miles together, that there is no ſeeing which way the clouds drive, nor which way the wind ſets : and it ſeems almoſt as if the ſun had never ſhone on the ground, ſince the creation. About ſun ſet it cleared up, and we encamped on the laſt branch of *Suſquehanah*, the night following it thundred and rained very faſt, and took us
at

at a disadvantage, for we had made no shelter to keep off the rain, neither could we see it till just over our heads, and it began to fall.

One of our *Indians* cut 4 sticks 5 feet long; and stuck both ends into the ground; at 2 foot distance, one from another; over these he spread his match coat and crept through them, and then fell to singing: in the mean time we were setting poles slantwise in the ground, tying others cross them, over which we spread our blanket and crept close under it with a fire before us and fell fast asleep.

I waked a little after midnight, and found our fire almost out, so I got the hatchet and felled a few saplings which I laid on, and made a rousing fire, tho' it rained stoutly, and laying down once more, I slept sound all night.

21st, In the morning when we had dry'd our blankets, we kept along the side of a hill, gradually ascending, the soil good, timber tall, and abundance of ginseng; here the musquetoës were very troublesome, it being foggy, thence proceeding down a long gradual descent on good rich soil with tall timber, sugar, maple, chestnut, cherry, linden and elm, we traversed a large valley and rivulet, then rode up a little steep hill where we stopped at half an hour after eleven, this hill was a little sandy, with some large pines growing upon it; here we walked and looked about us, having not had such an opportunity for two days, during which

which time we had a fine prospect over the vale of the great mountain we had just crossed, and which differed so remarkably from all I had ever been upon before, in its easy and fruitful ascent and descent, in its great width, every where crowned with noble and lofty woods, but above all, in its being intirely free from naked rocks and steep precipices.

From these remarks, one might be naturally led to imagine, that the Waters at the flood gradually ebbed and retired on each side, towards the river *St. Lawrence* and *Susquehanah*, the very next ridges on either side being narrower, steeper, and some rocks washed bare, and so all the adjacent ridges the farther they are from this, appear to be more washed, more composed of great banks of craggy rocks and tremendous precipices, the soil more carried off, mighty rocks tumbled down, and those left appearing as if piled up in a pyramid and hereby preserved from a share in the awful ruin below among their fellows; the soil being so perfectly washed from their root, as evidently no longer to support them. After having enjoyed this enchanting prospect and entertaining hypothesis, we descended easily for several miles, over good land producing sugar-maples, many of which the *Indians* had tapped to make sugar of the sap, also oaks, hickery, white walnuts, plums and some apple trees, full of fruit; the *Indians* had set long bushes all round the

the

the trees at a little distance, I suppose to keep the small children from stealing the fruit before they were ripe: here we halted and turned our horses to grass, while the inhabitants cleared a cabin for our reception; they brought us victuals, and we dispatched a messenger immediately to *Onondago* to let them know how near we were, it being within 4 miles. All the *Indians*, men, women and children came to gaze at us and our horses, the little boys and girls climbed on the roofs of their cabins, about ten in number to enjoy a fuller view, we set out about ten, and travelled over good land all the way, mostly an easy descent, some lime-stone, then down the east hill, over ridges of lime-stone rock, but generally a moderate descent into the fine vale where this capital (if I may so call it) is situated.

We alighted at the council house, where the chiefs were already assembled to receive us, which they did with a grave cheerful complaisance, according to their custom; they shew'd us where to lay our baggage, and repose ourselves during our stay with them; which was in the two end apartments of this large house. The *Indians* that came with us, were placed over against us: this cabin is about 80 feet long, and 17 broad, the common passage 6 feet wide; and the apartments on each side 5 feet, raised a foot above the passage by a long sapling hewed square, and fitted
with

with joists that go from it to the back of the house; on these joists they lay large pieces of bark, and on extraordinary occasions spread matts made of rushes, this favour we had; on these floors they set or lye down every one as he will, the apartments are divided from each other by boards or bark, 6 or 7 foot long, from the lower floor to the upper, on which they put their lumber, when they have eaten their homony, as they set in each apartment before the fire, they can put the bowel over head, having not above 5 foot to reach; they set on the floor sometimes at each end, but mostly at one: they have a shed to put their wood into in the winter, or in the summer, to set to converse or play, that has a door to the south; all the sides and roof of the cabin is made of bark, bound fast to poles set in the ground, and bent round on the top, or set aflatt, for the roof as we set our rafters; over each fire place they leave a hole to let out the smoak, which in rainy weather, they cover with a piece of bark, and this they can easily reach with a pole to push it on one side or quite over the hole, after this model are most of their cabins built, figure annexed.

The fine vale of *Onondago* runs north and south, a little inclining to the west, and is near a mile wide, where the town is situated and excellent soil, the river that divides this charming vale, is 2, 3 or 4 foot deep, very
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full

full of trees fallen across, or drove on heaps by the torrents. The town in its present state is about 2 or 3 miles long, yet the scattered cabins on both sides the water, are not above 40 in number, many of them hold 2 families, but all stand single, and rarely above 4 or 5 near one another; so that the whole town is a strange mixture of cabins, interspersed with great patches of high grass, bushes and shrubs, some of pease, corn and squashes, lime-stone bottom composed of fossils and sea shells.

It seems however, to have been more considerable when it became a conquest to the arms of *Lewis* 14th, at which time it must have been more compact, for history relates it to have been stockadoed. The *Count de Frontenac* governor of *Canada*, at the head of the most numerous army the *French* ever drew together in *N. America*, had the satisfaction in 1696 of triumphing over the ashes of *Onondago*, whose inhabitants terrified with what they had heard of bombs, and generally unwilling to hazard a set battle, had already abandoned their houses after setting them afire. whatever glory the grand monarque might reap from this exploit, it is certain he gained no other advantage, as a longer stay must have inevitably starved the army, so its precipitate retreat helped our *Indians* to an opportunity of taking their revenge by cutting
of

of every stragling canoe, in their return by water to *Monreal*.

At night, soon after we were laid down to sleep, and our fire almost burnt out, we were entertained by a comical fellow, disguised in as odd a dress as *Indian* folly could invent; he had on a clumsy vizard of wood colour'd black, with a nose 4 or 5 inches long, a grining mouth set awry, furnished with long teeth, round the eyes circles of bright brass, surrounded by a larger circle of white paint, from his forehead hung long tresses of buffaloes hair, and from the catch part of his head ropes made of the plated husks of *Indian* corn; I cannot recollect the whole of his dress, but that it was equally uncouth: he carried in one hand a large staff, in the other a calabash with small stones in it, for a rattle, and this he rubbed up and down his staff; he would sometimes hold up his head and make a hideous noise like the braying of an ass; he came in at the further end, and made this noise at first, whether it was because he would not surprise us too suddenly I can't say: I ask'd *Conrad Weiser*, who as well as myself lay next the alley, what noise that was? and *Shick-kamy* the *Indian* chief, our companion, who I supposed, thought me somewhat scared, called out, I ye still *John*, I never heard him speak so much plain *English* before. The jack-pudding presently came up to us, and an *Indian*

boy came with him and kindled our fire, that we might see his glittering eyes and antick postures as he hobbled round the fire, sometimes he would turn the Buffaloes hair on one side that we might take the better view of his ill-favoured phyz, when he had tired himself, which was sometime after he had well tired us, the boy that attended him struck 2 or 3 smart blows on the floor, at which the hobgoblin seemed surpris'd and on repeating them he jumped fairly out of doors and disappeared. I suppose this was to divert us and get some tobacco for himself, for as he danced about he would hold out his hand to any he came by to receive this gratification which as often as any one gave him he would return an awkward compliment. By this I found it no new diversion to any but my self. In my whim I saw a vizard of this kind hang by the side of one of their cabins to another town. After this farce we endeavoured to compose ourselves to sleep but towards morning was again disturbed by a drunken *Squaw* coming into the cabin frequently complimenting us and singing.

22^d. was a showery day, and we stirred little out.

23^d. we hired a guide to go with us to the salt spring, 4 or 5 miles off, down the river, on the west side of it's mouth; being most of the way good land, and near the mouth very rich:

rich: from whence it runs westward near a quarter of a mile, a kind of a sandy beach adjoining to the bank of the river, containing 3 or 4 acres. Here the *Indians* dig holes, about 2 foot deep, which soon filling with brine, they dip their kettles, and boil the contents, until the salt remains at bottom; there was a family residing at this time. The boys in the lake fishing, the *Squaw* fetching water, gathering wood, and making a fire under the kettle, while the husband was basking himself on the sand, under the bushes. We filled our gallon keg full of water and brought it to Town, where we boiled it to about a pound of salt. Our guides took their arrows, made of reed and down to shoot small birds. About half way there is an excellent spring of water, and by it a grove of *Curboroitæ* joining to a green swamp, producing very high grass. About a mile up the river from the lake, it runs by a steep bank at the end of a high hill. The bank was sandy, and out of it run'd a brackish water, which inclines me to think that there is a body of fossil salt hereabouts, by which the plain is furnished with its intense salt brine, and that it is the vapour thereof that congeal to the trash and bushes that lye on the bank, and glitters like flakes of Ice, or Snow, in a Sunshiny day. This day 2 deputies arrived from the *Cayugas* Country.

24th. *Lewis* and I hired a guide to go with

24th. *Lewis* and I hired a guide to go with us to *Oswego* for 16s. our intention was more to get provisions for our journey home, than to gratify our curiosity. In the mean time, *Conrad* stayed at *Onondago*, to treat with the *Indian* chiefs about the skirmish in *Virginia*; with a view to incline them singly in favour of our application, before they assembled in council: and here I cannot help observing, it was scarcely ever known, that an *Indian Chief* or *Councillor*, once gained so far as to promise him interest, did break his promise, whatever presents have been offered him from another quarter.

We travelled on foot to the *Onondago* lake, whence we had fetched the salt water the day before, there we procured a bark canoe at half an hour after eleven, then paddled down the lake, and reached the lower end in two hours course, N. W. This lake the *French* call *Ganentaba*; hence we went down the river a mile N. big enough to carry a large boat, if the trees fallen into it where but carried away, this brought us to the river from the *Cayuga* country, near 100 yards wide, very still, and so deep we could see no bottom, the land on both sides very rich and low to within a mile of the *Oneida* river, where the river began to run swift, and the bottom became visible, tho' at a good depth. At three o'clock we came to the last mention'd river, down which the *Abbany* trader come to *Oswego*, half
a mile

a mile farther we came to a rippling, which carried us with prodigious swiftness down the stream, soon after we encountered a second, and a mile farther a third, very rough. In about an hour by the sun, after many other ripplings, we found our selves at the great fall, the whole breadth of the river which is above 100 yards wide and is eight or ten feet perpendicular: here we hawled our canoe ashore, took out all our baggage, and carried it on our back a mile to a little town, of about four or five cabins; they chiefly subsist by catching fish and assisting the *Alcany* people to hawl their *Bateans*, and carry their goods round the falls; which may be about ten or twelve poles, then they launch again into the river, and down the foaming stream that furiously on all sides dashes one half against the rocks, near a mile before they come to still water, and indeed, it runs pretty swift all the way to *Oswego*. These *Indians* were very kind to us, and gave us boiled corn and water melons, while they and our guide who was a relation sat over against us in the same cabin, chewing raw *Indian* corn stalks, spitting out the substance after they sucked out the juice. But we could not yet understand whether we were to go to the fort by land, or by water. In the morning they had caught some stout eels, and a great fish two feet long, it was round and thick, they strike them with long slender shafts

shafts 18 or 20 feet long, pointed at the end with iron see the shape. The 2 splints of wood spreading each side, directs the point into the fish, which at a great depth it would be otherwise difficult to hit. I saw upon one of their canoes in the morning a large piece of bark spread a-cross. On this lay gravel and sand, and on these coals and ashes, which I supposed had been a fire, and the gravel placed there to save the bark. And I took it to be a design both to allure and see to strike the fish.

25th. Our guide, and several other *Indians*, lead us to the canoes belonging to the town, into one of which we got full of hopes of going by water, but were much chagrin'd to find ourselves only paddled cross the water, where we unwillingly took out our cloaths, victuals and blankets, and carried them on our backs following our guides, who were now increased to three. We had 12 miles down the river by land, most of the way middling land, some white pine and spruce groves to pass through, but most of the way in sight of the river, which is very rapid most of the way to the lake. On the point formed by the entrance of the river, stands the fort or trading castle, it is a strong stone house, encompassed with a stone wall near 20 feet high, and 120 paces round, built of large squared stones; very curious for their softness, I cut my name in it with my knife. The town consists of about

70 loghouses, of which one half are in a row near the river, the other half opposite to them, on the other side of a fair were two streets divided by a row of posts in the midst. Where each *Indian* has his house to lay his goods, and where any of the traders may traffick with him. This is surely an excellent regulation for preventing the traders from imposing on the *Indians*, a practise they have been formerly too much guilty of, and which has frequently involved the *English* colonies in difficulties, and constantly tended to depreciate us in the esteem of the natives; Who can scarcely be blamed for judging of a nation, by the behaviour of those with whom they have the most intercourse. a judgment I am sorry to confess that has (till lately) tended much to the making them in favour rather of the French, than English. I speak of private persons, not of the respective government. The chief officer in command at the castle, keeps a good look out to see when the *Indians* come down the lake with their poultry and furs, and sends a canoe to meet them, which conducts them to the castle, to prevent any person enticing them to put ashore privately, treating them with spirituous liquors, and then taking that opportunity of cheating them. This officer seems very careful, that all quarrelling, and even the least misunderstanding, when any happens, be quickly made up in an amicable manner, since a speedy

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accomodation can only prevent our country men from incurring the imputation of injustice; and the delay of it would produce the disagreeable consequences of an *Indians* endeavouring to right himself by force.

Oswego, is an infant settlement made by the province of *New-York*, with the noble view of gaining to the crown of *Great Britain* the command of the 5 lakes, and the dependence of the *Indians* in their neighbourhood, and to its subjects the benefit of the trade upon them, and of the rivers that empty themselves into them. At present the whole navigation is carried on by the *Indians* themselves in bark canoes, and there are perhaps many reasons for desiring it should continue so for some years at least; but a good englishman cannot be without hopes of seeing these great lakes become one day accustomed to *English* navigation. It is true, the famous fall of *Niagara*, is an insurmountable bar to all passage by water, from the lake *Ontario*, into the lake *Erie*, in such vessels as are proper for the secure navigation of either; but besides, that bark canoes are carried on mens shoulders with ease, from one to the other, as far as the passage is impracticable: It will be much more easy to carry the goods in waggons, from the upper lake, into the *Huron* or *Quatoghie* lake, the strait is rendered unnavigable by the *Saute St. Marie*, but a vessel of considerable burthen may sail
from

from the hither end of the *Erie* lake, to the bottom of the lake *Michigan*, and for ought we know, through all parts of the 3 middle lakes. These lakes receive the waters of many rivers, that in some places approach so near the branches of the vast river *Mississippi*, that a short land carriage supplies the communication. And here to use the words of a most judicious writer, " He that reflects on the natural state
 " of that continent must open to himself a
 " a field for traffick in the southern parts of N.
 " *America*, and by the means of this river
 " and the lakes, the imagination takes into
 " view such a scene of inland navigation; as
 " cannot be paralleled in any other part of
 " the world. "

The honour of first discovering these extensive fresh water seas, is certainly due to the *French*, who are at this time in possession of settlements at *Fort Ponchartrian*, on the strait between *Lake Erie* and the *Lake Huron* and at *Mislimabinac* between the latter and the upper lake, but as these can give them no title against the original inhabitants or the *five nations*, Conquerors of all the adjacent nations, so it is difficult to conceive by what arguments these small posts, inhabited by no subjects of *France* but soldiers, can be extended to mark any possession beyond the reach of their gun's, or land actually cultivated, except by such as must intitle the crown of *Great*

Britain to all *North America*, both as *prior discoverers* and *prior planters*, without a subsequent desertion.

The traders from *New York* come hither, up the *Mohawks* river, which discharges itself into *Hudsons* river ; but generally go by land from *Albany*, to *Schenectady* about 20 miles from the *Mohawks* river, the carriage is but 3 miles into the river that falls into the *Oneido* lake, which discharges itself by the *Oneido* river, into the *Onondago* river, and brings their goods to *Oswego* in the manner I have before related.

We came to the town about 12 o'clock, the commissary invited us to the castle where we dined, together with the Doctor and Clerk. After dinner we had the satisfaction of swimming in the lake *Ontario*, which is some times called by our *Indians Cadarakin*, this is also the name of a french fort upon it, almost opposite to *Oswego*, N. it has 4 bastions built of stone, and is near half a mile in circumference; it stands where the waters of this lake are already formed into the river *St. Lawrence*, which makes a good road for great barks under the point of *Cadarakin Bay*. The famous and unfortunate Mr. *De la Sale* had two barks which remains sunk there to this day.

These lakes are said to have a kind of flux and reflux peculiar, since it is affirmed to be sensibly ebb and flood several times in a quarter of an hour, tho' it be perfectly smooth and scarce

scarce any wind. But it is evident from the face of the earth, that the water of the lake *Ontario* is considerably diminished and has lost ground a great number of years, for the shores above a mile within land, are abundantly more low, as well as of a looser texture than the soil beyond, whether this effect is in common to all the waters on the earth, according to a conjecture of the great Sir *Isaac Newton*: Or whether it be not at (least in part) owing to the removal of some great obstruction, which by causing a fall in the river *St. Lawrence*, might formerly pen the waters up to a greater height than now; or only to the gradual wearing away by the perpetual passage of the water over those falls that still subsist: or to a casual ruin of some part of one of them, I shall leave to the determination of a more able naturalist than myself.

The water was very clear and as cold as our river in May, it is well tasted and supposed to be 120 miles broad, and near 200 long; streaching N. N. W. but this must be an error, the common maps giving it a bearing to the Northward of the lake, but Mr. *Bellin* shews us it lies E. and W. from the observations of *P. Charlevoix*, on the exactness of which he thinks he cannot too much rely, and *Bellin* in his map of these lakes has given it this bearing

bearing. We lodged in the castle in the captains chamber.

26th. Early in the morning I walked out looking for plants, as I had done the evening before. I observed a kitchen garden and a grave yard to the S. W. of the castle; which puts me in mind that the neighbourhood of this lake is esteemed unhealthful, we were entertained by one of the traders, with whom we breakfasted; and bought of him some dried beef. And a gallon of Rum we got at the castle. The traders had disposed of most of their biscuit and had packed up their provision, in order to return directly to *Albany*: however, one of them went about to the rest and collected us a good parcel of biscuit, a kindness we were very sensible of. After breakfast I regulated my journal, having a convenient private room to do it in. We dined at the castle, and at 3 o'clock set out for *Onondago*. Two *Indians* helped to carry some of our baggage; the day was warm, the *Indians* walked fast, our load was heavy and we were sufficiently weary before we reached the town near the falls, which was about sun set. Indeed we had the favour of shady woods all the way, we lodged where we did before. The *Indian Squaws* got very drunk and made a sad noise till morning. My fear least our guide was drunk also, added a good deal to an indisposition I was seiz'd with in the evening, but

but in the morning I found him and his companion, to my great joy, fast asleep by the outside of the cabin.

27th, We set out early and found our canoe safe where we left it, and it was with much satisfaction that I entered it. At half an hour after ten, we got to the first fall, above the great one, the *Indians* brought the canoe to shore and made sign for us to disembark and walk along ashore, while they stept into the river, and hawled the canoe up the fall about a quarter of a mile, by good land. We re-embarked again, and at twelve came to the *Oneida* branch, up which the *Albany* traders return, after 2 or 3 months trade at *Oswego-Castle*. At 3 o'clock we entered the *Onondago* lake, the upper end of which we gained by five, the land about the lake is pretty good and some large marshes and rich low ground mostly on each side, but here and there the hills come close to the water: I think it must be eight miles long and above one broad, very brackish at the salt plain; very deep in some places near the middle, but shallow for 100 yards from the shore. The *Indians* paddled the canoe a little way higher up the stream and might have brought us to the town, if the fallen trees had been removed; but whatever nature has done for them (and she is no where more bountiful) they are too lazy by any trouble of their own to improve; but when compelled by the most urgent necessity. We

We reached the town about sun-set, equally pleased with our having improved the opportunity so well by seeing *Ontario* lake, and that we were returned safe to the interpreter and *Indian Chiefs*; those two last days had been pretty warm: our *Indian* guide was a fullen, illnatured, and I believe, a superstitious fellow. Every now and then as we paddled up the river, he would with a composed countenance utter somewhat pretty loud for about the space of two minutes at a time, whether it was a magical incantation, or a prayer, I can't tell; I am satisfied it was no song, nor any speech directed to us, or the *Indian* with him, for he seemed intirely unmoved all the time.

28th, This was a rainy thundering warm day, and two deputies arrived from the *Oneidoes*. News came that the worms had destroyed abundance of corn and grass in *Canada*. This night we were troubled with fleas, and what was worse, our men exceeding drunk and noisy; our grievances in the day were more tolerable, being only women infesting us with their company and bawling, in great good humour, indeed I perceived to no quarrel while among them.

29th, Several more deputies arrived from the *Tuscaroroes*, we went to visit a poor emaciated *Indian*, who they said was bewitched, he lived about a mile from the *Council-House*.

This

This day was warm, and several showers passed by to the southward.

30th, Three of the *Mohawks* arrived, this nation dwells farthest within the province of *New-York*, and to the southward of the river known by their name; abundance of whites live among them, and as they are the best acquainted with the manners of the *English*, so they have at all times shewn the most steady affection to our people. I am sorry to say, their morals are little if at all mended by their frequent intercourse with us Christians, tho' I am persuaded it is not the fault of our religion but its professors, perhaps this may be esteemed a principal cause why they are become less numerous than any of their confederates.

This morning after breakfast, I went to the east hill, and found a fine spring on the west side, surrounded with *Arbor Vitæ*, some a foot diameter, this water is of such a petrifying nature, that as it runs among the fallen leaves it incrusts them and petrifies in great stones as big as one can well lift; there was a great piece of ground covered with them, which had turned the water-course several times, I have seen three of these springs in my travels; one on the other side of *Potomack* and one up *Delawares* at *Menefinks*; this hill is good limestone land, producing sugar maple, elms, beech, and some white pine, which

last had then 3 or 4 cones, on 2 or 3 trees, but they were quite green.

This afternoon the chiefs met in council, and three of them spoke for near a quarter of an hour each, two of these while speaking, walked backward and forward in the common passage, near 2 thirds of its length, with a slow even pace, and much composure and gravity in their countenance; the other delivered what he had to say sitting in the middle, in a graceful tone exhorting them to a close indissoluble amity and unanimity, for it was by this perfect union their forefathers had conquered their enemies, were respected by their allies, and honoured by all the world; that they were now met according to their antient custom, tho' several imminent dangers stood in their way, mountains, rivers, snakes and evil spirits, but that by the assistance of the *great Spirit* they now saw each others faces according to appointment.

This the interpreter told me was the opening of the diet, and was in the opinion of these people abundantly sufficient for one day, since there is nothing they condemn so much as precipitation in publick councils; indeed they esteem it at all times a mark of much levity in any one to return an immediate answer to a serious question however obvious, and they consequently spin out a Treaty, where many points are to be moved, to a great length of time,

time, as is evident from what our conference with them, produced afterward at *Lancaster* begun the 22d of *June* 1744.

This council was followed by a feast, after 4 o'clock we all dined together upon 4 great kettles of *Indian* corn loop, which we soon emptied, and then every chief retired to his home.

31st, In the morning, as soon as light, I walked out to look at our horses as usual, and close by a cabin spied a knife almost covered with grass; I supposed it lost, but the *Indians* being not yet stirring let it lie: a little after sun-rise I walked there again, and the *Squaw* being at the door, shewed her where it lay, at which she seemed exceedingly pleased, and picked it up immediately. As I came back to our cabin, I spy'd 2 *Indian* girls at play with beans, which they threw from one to the other on a match coat spread between them; as they were behind our cabin, I turned to see how they play'd, but they seemed much out of countenance, and run off in an instant: I observed that the *Indian* women are generally very modest.

About noon the council sat a 2^d time, and our interpreter had his audience, being charge by the governor with the conduct of the treaty. *Conrad Weiser* had engaged the *Indian* speaker to open the affair to the chiefs assembled in council; he made a speech near half an hour,

and delivered 3 broad belts and 5 strings of *Wampum* to the council, on the proper occasions. There was a pole laid a-cross from one chamber to another over the passage, on this their belts and strings were hung, that all the council might see them, and here have the matters in remembrance, in confirmation of which they were delivered: The conference held till 3, after which we dined; this repast consisted of 3 great kettles of *Indian* corn soup, or thin homony, with dry'd eels and other fish boiled in it, and one kettle full of young squashes and their flowers boiled in water, and a little meal mixed; this dish was but weak food, last of all was served a great bowl, full of *Indian* dumplings, made of new soft corn, cut or scraped off the ear, then with the addition of some boiled beans, lapped well up in *Indian* corn leaves, this is good hearty provision. After dinner, we had a favourable answer, corroborated by several belts of *Wampum*, with a short speech to each, these we carried away as our tokens of peace and friendship, the harangue concluded with a charge to sit still as yet, for tho' they had dispatched our business first, it was not because they were weary of us, but to make us easy. This complement preceded other business, which lasted till near sun set, when we regaled on a great bowl of boiled cakes, 6 or 7 inches diameter, and about 2
thick,

thick, with another of boiled squash; soon after, the chiefs in a friendly manner took their leave of us, and departed every one to his lodging: this night we treated two of the chiefs that lived in the council hall, which as I mentioned, was our quarters; they drank cheerfully, wishing a long continuance of uninterrupted amity between the *Indians* and *English*.

August 1. Six of the *Anticoque Indians* had an audience, but when they came to it, could not make themselves understood, tho' provided with an interpreter brought near 700 miles, (they said more) but he could not understand the *Mohawk* Language, but only the *Delawar* and middling *English*, * so they contrived he should direct his speech to *Conrad Weiser* in *English*, and interpret this to the council. They gave broad belts of *Wampum*, 3 arm belts and 5 strings; one was to wipe clean all the blood they had spilt of the *five nations*, another to raise a tumulus over their graves, and to pick

* *P. Charlevoix*, perhaps from his own knowledge and the information he has received from his brother missionaries, tells us, that the languages of the northern part of *North America*, are properly 3, the *Sioux* or *Nadouissieur*, called by the *English* *Norway*, the *Algonquin* or *Adirondack*, and the *Huron* or *Quatoghie* of which last he makes the *Iroquois* called by our author the *Mohawk*, a dialect; but adds, he knew not what language is talked by the *Cherokees*, whether the language of the *Anticoques* be a dialect of the last which is very possible, or of the *Adirondack* which I take the *Delawar* to be, I can't determine.

pick out the sticks, roots or stones; and make it smooth on the top; a third, to cleanse the stomach of the living from gall or any thing else that made them sick; a fourth was a cordial to cheer up their spirits; a fifth, to cloath their bodies and keep them warm, a sixth, to join them in mutual friendship, a seventh, to request them to let them settle on a branch of *Susquehanah*, another to intreat the 5 nations that they would take a little care to protect their women from insults while out a hunting, and the rest for such like purposes. This business lasted 4 hours, then we dined on *Indian* corn and squash soup, and boiled bread. In the afternoon, I went on the western mountain as I had the day before on the eastern; it was very rich and full of tall timber quite to the top, the trees were linden, elm, sugar-maple, white walnut, oak, hickory and chefnut, besides ginseng, and most sort of herbs that grow on our rich lime-stone land.

These 2 days the wind was south and warm and several showers to the S. E. The council met at 9 o'clock, and the kettles of soup and a basket of dumplings were brought in for our dinner; after dinner the *Anticoques* delivered a belt and a string of *Wampum*, with a complaint that the *Marylanders* had deposed their king, and desired leave to chuse one for themselves: to this, as well as all the articles opened yesterday, the chiefs returned plausible but

but subtil answers; then they gave us 2 strings withal, telling us, that now they had thrown water on our fire, and we were at liberty to return home when we pleased; they all took their leave, and bid us adieu by shaking hands very kindly, and seemingly with much affection. This night the young men getting into liquor, kept shouting and singing till morning.

3d, We prepared for setting forward, and many of the chiefs came once more to take their farewell; some of them brought us provision for our journey, we shook hands again and set out at 9.

It was greatly to my mortification, that I was forced to return for the most part the same way I came. We had intended to go through the *Mohawks* country to *Albany*, but our 2 *Indians* could not be persuaded to go that way, tho' we offered to bear their charges, and the chiefs were not willing we should leave them to pass through the wilderness alone, as they came to gratify us and further our business. This day was fair, and the wind S. In the afternoon, we ascended that lovely mountain S. W. which divides the waters that render tribute to the great streams of *St. Lawrence* and *Susquebanah*. We did not directly cross the mountain, but rode a small way on its summit under the grateful shade of those lofty trees that every way adorn it; and
after-

afterwards we traveled several miles on its S. W. side, where we enjoyed a fine prospect of a spacious rich vale on our left hand. On this hill we saw a lime stone a little bigger than my head, which is rare in these parts.

We entered the vale at 5, then crossed a *run* and rode along a rich level for several miles, and under the delightful protection of very tall trees that brought us to a creek, a branch of *Susquehanab*, where we lodged surrounded by ginseng.

4th, This was a fine day, and our traveling cool, because shady, and the goosberries being now ripened, we were every now and then tempted to break off a bough and divert ourselves with picking them, tho' on horseback.

5th, This morning was clear and cool, and now our journey was truly charming, it is scarce possible to think the advantage we had in returning from the single circumstance of being free from those small gnats that tormented us in our going so grievously. But our return being mostly in the same path, it will be needless to describe the land or its productions again.

6th, We set out an hour before sunrise, the morning clear, at half an hour after ten we reached *Ozwagan*, and turned our horses to graze, while we stopped at a cabin. The *Squaw* brought in a bowl of huckle-berries,

to stay our stomachs; and soon after a large kettle full of small homony boil'd in strong venison broth; this was noble entertainment, and too good to leave any of. I heartily pityed the poor *Squaw*, for I believe she had dressed it for herself and several children: she also obliged us to accept of a fine piece of venison to carry away. Here we killed a rattle snake, the second we had seen to day: at one we continued our journey through groves of pine of a stupendous stature; the land midling for 2 miles S. W. to the river, then a variable course over land of equal goodness, oak and hickery, some bottoms rich; and by three we cross'd a fine creek: where we spied a grey squirrel which our *Indian* would have shot, had it not been on the top of a white oak: here we found very stony ground, great stones having been drove by one common force, into a form like that of fish scales, yet this was a mile from the river, and many yards perpendicular above the bed of it, this may be the effects of the universal deluge, or some mighty torrent of water since that, must have flowed over these stones and washed them thus bare. We travelled till about two hours by the sun, and then pitched by the river, which run full W. there was high barren mountains on the upper side, here the river was deep and smooth enough for flat bottom'd vessels, which made us heartily wish that we

were in a canoe, and our horses at *Shamokin*, for we dreaded the dismal wilderness between. We observed here an old log, which the bears had cunningly turned to pick up the snails, beetles, and grubbs, that had crept under it for shelter.

7th, We rod over middling land, producing oak, pine, and great magnolia, to the *Tobicon* town on the *Cayugo* branch; this place we arrived at by noon but stayed there all night, frightened by several showers that passed over the mountains in sight: indeed it rained a little here, I walked to the branch after dinner, and found abundance of fossils on the banks, but the distance of the way, and heavy load of our baggage, were an insurmountable bar to my bringing any home. This day the *Anticoque* interpreter that travelled with us from *Onondago*, who left the path a little to hunt, misd our tract and hit upon an *Indian* town, 3 miles up the branch, and there picking up a *Squaw* brought her with him. The chief man of the town came to visit us in a very friendly manner, and our interpreter telling him where we had been, what about, and how well we had succeeded; he testified abundance of satisfaction that peace was not like to be interrupted, he added, when he came home his people told him, we had passed through their town, but that we had not informed them of our business.

This

This furnishes us with an instance of the *Punctilio* the *Indians* constantly treat travellers with, the people though earnestly desiring to know our commission, would not take the liberty to ask us. This night our fellow traveller lodged with his occasional wife in a corner of our cabin, and in the morning would have taken her with him at our expence, to the great vexation of Mr *Weisar*, who thought it intolerable that an intruder should gratifie his private inclinations to the shortening of our necessary provisions, already insufficient; as we did not take much pains to conceal this resentment, he had determined to part with her, though with much regret, and accordingly left her when we crossed the branch, giving her a farewell shout; we heard this with much joy, and I believe it was as well for the parties.

8th, We continued our journey without meeting any thing worth remarking, the ground we had passed rode over in our way out, and had lodged at the very creek we spent this night at.

9th. We travelled to a fine creek big enough to drive two mills, we stoped for this night at the foot of a great hill, cloathed with large *Magnolia*, 2 feet diameter and 100 feet high; perfectly straight, shagbark-hickery, chefnut and chefnut oak. This is like a bridge between the N.E. and N.W. branches of *Susquehanah*: here is also a spring from whence the water runs to both branches.

10th August, We set out, the sun half an our high, travelled along a rich hill side, where we observ'd a pretty many rocks, then down to a *Licking-place* by 8, where our intruder who was a good way before us shot at an Elk, and having wounded him, pursued him several hours. We waited his return till 2 o'clock, *Lewis Evans* took an observation here, and found the lat. 41. a half. Set out again at 3, and travelled over fine rich ground by a creek where we lodged. I took a fancy to ascend 2 thirds of the height of a neighbouring hill, in the way I came to abundance of loose stones, and very craggy rocks, which seemed to threaten impending ruin; the soil was black and very rich, full of great wild stinging nettles, as far as I went I rolled down several loose stones to make a path for my more expeditious return. This I found the *Indians* much disturbed at, for they said it would infallibly produce rain the next day, I told them I had sufficient experience, it signified nothing, for it was my common practice to roll down stones from the top of every steep hill, and could not recollect that it ever rained the next day, and that I was almost sure to morrow would be a very fair day.

11th, We got out before sun rise, and rode over very good bottoms of *Linden*, *Poplar* and *Elm*, we killed a rattle snake, and soon after found a patch of *Chamerodendron*, at 8 we came to a creek winding from between the mountains

mountains on the left, then along a level to another from the right, which we crossed to our former cabin. Quickly after we reached a bad hill, where I first found the *Ginseng* in this journey, the soil was black and light, with flat stones facing the east, there we passed by 9, then over a bottom of laurel and pine to a creek we had several times crossed, when obstructed as frequently we were by hills, keeping close to the water on the side we were riding. At 10 we left this creek for the sake of a shorter way than we came, for this purpose we kept a S. course to the top of a high but very poor hill, which we reached about a qr. after eleven, and had a prospect still to a gap we were to pass to the river; the northside of this hill was clothed with tall spruce, while pine and beech, the top with chestnut, scrubby oak, and huckle berries, the S. side with shrub, honeysuckles &c. Our way was now over a poor pebble stoney vale of laurel, spruce firr, pine, chestnut, and huckle berries, to a *Run* of water; where we dined on parched meal mixed with water. We left that place at half an hour after one, and soon found ourselves much distressed by the broad flat stones on the side of the hill, our way lay over. Our horses. could hardly stand, but even slept on their sides on our left a rivulet rushed from a precipice, and the mountains were so steep and close to its sides, that we were obliged to climb to the
top

top of that on the west; here we suffered our horses to rest while we gathered huckle berries to eat, we travelled on the top a good way all stony to the point, which was very narrow, and the flat stones on each side turned up like the ridge of a house, this reminded me of *Dr. Burnets Theory*, and his ingenious *Hypothesis*, to account for the formation of mountains. The descent was moderate, the land middling, oak, chesnut and huckle-berries: we found a *Run* here and reposed ourselves for this night, having supped on venison, shot by our *Indians* who left us on the hill that evening. It was fair and pleasant, and the great green grass-hopper began to sing (*Catedidist*) these were the first I observed this year. Before day break it began to rain, it lasted about an hour and then ceased. The *Indians* insisted that was caused by the stones I rolled down 2 days ago, I told the *Antecoque Indians* if their observations had any truth it should have been the day before, which was remarkably fair. To this he cunningly replied, that our *Almanacks* often prognosticated on a day, and yet the rain did not come within two days.

12th, This day, the land produced middling oak, pitch, pine, and huckleberries, sometimes pebbles and a shallow soil. We dined on venison (partly our own, and partly given us by the *Indians*) at a deserted town about 7 miles off: this is called the *French town*, from a *French woman*

woman who married a *Delawar Indian*, and conformed to their manners; she left several children behind her, who were now come to look after their horses and break the young ones. It rained very fast for an hour, and in the midst of it about half a score of the 5 *Nations*, who had been on the back of *S. Carolina* to fight the *Catawba's*, passed very fast through the town with one poor female prisoner, they shouted couragiously, but we learnt no particulars of this great enterprize: about 3 it cleared up, we crossed the creek and travelled about 10 miles, most of the way good rich land, extensive bottoms and high grafs: I saw one lovely white *Lychnus* 5 feet high. Near night it began to rain, and we made a bark cabin, which kept us pretty dry, the rain continued all night with thunder.

13th, It cleared up early in the morning. We moved forward to our first cabin, where we dined on parched meal, which is some of the best *Indians* travelling provision. We had of it 2 bags, each a gallon, from the *Indians* at *Onondago*, the preparation of it is thus. They take the corn and parch it in hot ashes, till it becomes brown, then clean it, pound it in a mortar and sift it; this powder is mixt with sugar. About 1 qr. of a pint, diluted in a pint of water, is a hearty traveling dinner, when 100 miles from any inhabitants: about 2 hours after setting out we came near the river. Here

5 of us rode over a great rattle snake unseen and unhurt. I perceived him just as my mare was over him; a little further we saw another just by us. We travelled till near sun set, when 2 of our *Indians* were taken with a bad fit of an ague, this obliged us to encamp by the river, where our horses had excellent food. At about 20 rods from it I saw a bank much higher up, being near 30 feet perpendicular above the surface of the water, raised gradually to this height by the frequent floods, which this western branch is much subject too. Thus by sand continually heaped upon the firm sand, it is become a strong sand bank.

14th, We passed through an old town, where we found plumbs, peaches, and noble clusters of large grapes growing, very deep in sand, left about them by the flood I mentioned just now; a little farther the land was rich and low, covered with high weeds and grass, with locust, linden, walnut and elm, the higher land with elm and oak. At 11 o'clock we reached *Shamokin*, here we boiled dumplings and had plenty of water melons; we stayed all night.

15th, Next day by noon we came to *Mohonyoy*, where we stayed dinner, in the afternoon we rode over some stony poor land, then piney, white oak, and some middling land.

16th, This morning I was entertained with the Musical howling of a wolf, which I had
not

not heard for many years, but my companions were too fast asleep to hear it, we set out early and by one had crossed the 3 ridges of the *blue mountains*, and the 2 spruce vales, were the branches of *Swatara* ran, and dined in St. *Anthony's Wilderness*, as *Count Zinzendorf* has named it. We mounted again at 2 and climbed up the S. ridge, and at the top let our horses rest, for they were cover'd with sweat. In the mean time we look'd for water, but found none, in this search we found an *Indian Squaw* drying huckle berries. This is done by setting 4 forked sticks, in the ground, about 3 or 4 feet high, then others a-cross, over them the stalks of our common *Jacea* or *Saratula*, on these lie the berries, as malt is spread on the hair cloth over the kiln. Underneath she had kindled a smoke fire, which one of her children was tending. The quantity of their huckle berries growing on and between these ridges, is prodigious, the top of the S. ridge is pretty good land, and affords a fine prospect of the great and fertile vale of *Tulpibocken*, the ridge itself is pleasant. When we had rested ourselves and our poor tired horses, we lead them most of the way for 20 miles, this gave us an opportunity of gathering what quantity we pleased of their berries, tho' we eat rather more than I thought we might safely venture on, yet we found no ill consequence from our excess. When we were descended we had but

2 miles to a house, where we lodged, it rained fast in the evening and great part of the night itself. And we heartily congratulated ourselves on the enjoyment of good bread, butter and milk, in a comfortable house, and clean straw to sleep on, free from fleas.

17th, Though my mare was so lame, she had not stirred 20 yards all night, yet we got this day by noon to Mr *Conrad Weisars*; but under the difficulty of carrying my baggage good part of the way on my back, besides being scarcely able to get her along: when she came into the pasture, she stretched herself at full length and rose no more for 24 hours. In the afternoon I spent my time on Mr *Weisar's* high hill, gathering of seeds: here the great vale and blue mountains form a lovely prospect.

18th, I borrowed a horse of Mr *Weisar*, and set up all night at *Montawony*.

19th, Before sunset, I had the pleasure of seeing my own house and family: I found them in good health, and with a sincere mind, I returned thanks to the almighty power, that had preserved us all.

In this journey into the heart of a country, still in the possession of it's original inhabitants: I could not help sometimes to divert the length of the way by reflecting on their manners, their complexion so different from ours, and their Traditions: this led me to conjecture at their origin, or whence

whence they came into *America*, and at what time. Perhaps it may be equally hard to disprove or to prove that they were originally placed here by the same creator who made the world, as soon as this part of it became habitable, for it is reasonable to suppose the almighty power provided for the peopling of this, as well as of the other side of the globe, by a suitable stock of the human species.

However if we are to account for their passing from what is called the old world, there are many relations of voyages hither from the North of *Europe*, previous to that of *Columbus*, which though dark and uncertain, are neither evidently fabulous, nor even improbable from either the length or difficulties of the way. That the *Norwegians*, the possessors of *Iceland*, for many ages past had colonies in *Greenland*, is a fact too well attested to admit a doubt, from *Greenland* the short passage cross *Daon's Streights* brings us into the continent of *America*. If these colonies be put out of the question, it is scarce possible to think, that of the numerous fleets with which the *Danes* and *Norwegians* terrified continually the rest of *Europe*, none tempted by the hopes of gain, or drove by stress of weather, should ever fall in with the coasts of *Newfoundland* or *Gulph of St. Lawrence*. If it be objected that the navigators of those times

times were too unskillfull to attempt such a discovery, does it not furnish us with a reason to account for its being made by chance. If this passage was ever publickly known, which is more probable it was not, might not the knowledge of it be lost as that to *Greenland*, and can we be sure that the *Greenland* of the *Norwegians* was not more to the southward of that country now so called. I am not ignorant that these traditions of the *Norwegian* colonies, as well as many others to the same point, particularly that of prince *Madoc* has been treated as meer fiction; but let us not forget that *Herodotus's* account of the doubling the Cape of *Good Hope* has been treated so likewise too, tho' the fact be now established to the degree of moral certainty.

Again, it is not unlikely but there may be land most of the way from *America* to *Japan*, at least islands, separated only by narrow channels, and in sight, or nearly so, of one another. I have been lately informed of an *Indian* woman, well known by a person in *Canada*, and after an interval of many years met again by the same person in *Chinese Tartary*; he could not be convinced she was the same, till by discourse he had with her, she told him, that being made captive by a neighbouring nation, she had during many years been transferred by captivity, sale, or gift, from one nation to another till she was brought where he

he found her. If this be true it must be *Continent* most of the way.

Another manner of peopling this side of the earth, particularly *S. America*, might be by some vessels of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, or *Carthaginians* being blown off the coast of *Guinea* to that of *Brazil*, or the *Antilles* in their course, to or from the cape of *Good-Hope*; in which case, for want of those *Arts* and *Sciences* which are not to be found in *America*, before it's plantation by the whites, and which are seldom to be met with in a ships crew, they must take to that way of life our *Indians* now follow. This conjecture is the more probable, as even in the state of perfection, the art of navigation is now arrived at, this accident is often unavoidable.

But whatever was their origin, our six nations may be now thus characterised: they are a subtle, prudent, and judicious people in their councils, indefatigable, crafty, and revengeful in their wars, the men lazy and indolent at home, the women continual slaves, modest, very loving, and obedient to their husbands. As to the natural disposition of these *Nations*, they are grave, solid, and still in their recreations, as well as in their councils. The *Delawar's* and *Susquebanab's*, on the contrary, are very noisy in their recreations, and loud in discourse; but all when in liquor, whether men or women, take the liberty of shouting

shouting, singing, and dancing at an extravagant rate, till the operations of the liquor cease ; or being wearied they fall asleep.

The six nations enjoy the character of being the most warlike people in *N. America*, this they have acquired by the uninterrupted state of war, they have continued in probably near 200 years, and which has been attended with such success, that has made them the dread of people above 1000 miles distant. It cannot however be supposed, but they have frequently met with several checks, especially since the *French* assisted all their enemies openly near these 100 years past.

Their wars were formerly carried on with much more cruelty then of late, their prisoners who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being generally tortured to death, now their numbers being very much diminished by constant wars, with both distant and neighbouring nations, and perhaps a good deal partly by the spirituous liquors, and diseases the Europeans have brought among them. They very politically strive to strengthen themselves not only by alliances with their neighbours, but the prisoners they take ; they are almost always accepted by the relations of a warrior slain in his place, and thus a boy of 15, is sometimes called father by men of 30. This naturalizes them of course, and unites them into the tribe the deceased belonged to. This custom

custom is as antient as our knowledge of them, but when their number of warriors was more than twice as many as now, the relations would more frequently refuse to adopt the prisoner, but rather chuse to gratify their thirst of revenge.

Their religious notions are very confused and much mixed with superstition. Yet they seem not only to acknowledge a deity, but even to worship him in unity and spirit. What benefits they receive, they ascribe to a divine power. They have strange notions of spirits, conjuration, and witchcraft: these are agreeable to their blindness, and want of proper education among them, for I have always observed, that the belief of supernatural powers in a meer man, generally prevails in proportion to a Person's ignorance.

A Letter from Mr. KALM, a Gentleman of Sweden, now on his Travels in America, to his Friend in Philadelphia; containing a particular Account of the GREAT FALL of Niagara.

S I R,

Albany, Sep. 2, 1750.

AFTER a pretty long journey made in a short time, I am come back to this town. You may remember, that when I took my leave of you, I told you, I would this summer, if time permitted, take a view of *Niagara FALL*,
esteemed

esteemed one of the greatest curiosities in the World. When I came last year from *Quebec*, you enquir'd of me several particulars concerning this fall; and I told you what I heard of it in *Canada*, from several *French* gentlemen who had been there: but this was still all hearsay; I could not assure you of the truth of it, because I had not then seen it myself, and so it could not satisfy my own, much less your curiosity. Now, since I have been on the spot, it is in my power to give you a more perfect and satisfactory description of it.

After a fatiguing travel, first on horseback thro' the country of the *Six Indian Nations*, to *Oswego*, and from thence in a Canoe upon lake *Ontario*, I came on the 12th of *August* in the evening to *Niagara* fort. The *French* there seemed much perplexed at my first coming, imagining I was an *English* officer, who under pretext of seeing *Niagara* Falls, came with some other view; but as soon as I shew'd them my passports, they chang'd their behaviour, and received me with the greatest civility. *Niagara* Fall is six *French* leagues from *Niagara* Fort. you first go three leagues by water up *Niagara* river, and then three leagues over the carrying place. As it was late when I arriv'd at the Fort, I could not the same day go to the Fall, but I prepar'd myself to do it the next morning. The commandant
of

of the Fort, Monfr. *Beaujon*, invited all the officers and gentlemen there to supper with him. I had read formerly almost all the authors that have wrote any thing about this Fall; and the last year in *Canada*, had made so many enquiries about it, that I thought I had a pretty good Idea of it; and now at supper, requested the gentlemen to tell me all they knew and thought worth notice relating to it, which they accordingly did. I observed that in many things they all agreed, in some things they were of different opinions, of all which I took particular notice. When they had told me all they knew, I made several queries to them concerning what I had read and heard of it, whether such and such a thing was true or not? and had their answers on every circumstance. But as I have found by experience in my other travels, that very few observe nature's works with accuracy, or report the truth precisely, I cannot now be entirely satisfied without seeing with my own eyes whenever 'tis in my power. Accordingly the next morning, being the 13th of *August*, at break of day, I set out for the Fall. The commandant had given orders to two of the Officers of the Fort to go with me and shew me every thing, and also sent by them an order to Monfr. *Jonqueire*, who had liv'd ten years by the carrying-place, and

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knew

knew every thing worth notice of the Fall, better than any other person, to go with me, and shew and tell me whatever he knew. A little before we came to the carrying-place, the water of *Niagara* River grew so rapid, that four men in a light birch canoe, had much difficulty to get up thither. Canoes can go half a league above the beginning of the carrying-place, tho' they must work against a water extremely rapid; but higher up it is quite impossible, the whole course of the water for two leagues and a half up to the great Fall, being a series of smaller Falls, one under another, in which the greatest canoe or Battoe would in a moment be turn'd upside down. We went ashore therefore, and walk'd over the carrying-place, having besides the high and steep side of the river, two great hills to ascend one above the other. Here on the carrying-place I saw above 200 *Indians*, most of them belonging to the *Six Nations*, busy in carrying packs of furs, chiefly of deer and bear, over the carrying-place. You would be surpriz'd to see what abundance of these things are brought every day over this place. An *Indian* gets 20 pence for ever pack he carries over, the distance being three leagues. Half an hour past 10 in the morning we came to the great Fall, which I found as follows. to the river (or rather strait,) runs here from S. S. E. to N. N. W and the rocks of the great
 Fall

Fall crosses it, not in a right line; but forming almost the figure of a semicircle or horse shoe. Above the Fall, in the middle of the river is an island, lying also S. S. E. and N. N. W. or parallel with the sides of the river; its length is about 7 or 8 french arpents (an arpent being 180 feet.) the lower end of this Island is just at the perpendicular edge of the Fall. On both sides of this island runs all the water that comes from the lakes of *Canada*, viz. *Lake Superior*, lake *Mischigan*, lake *Huron*, and lake *Erie*, which you know are rather small seas than lakes, and have besides a great many large rivers that empty their water in them, of which the greatest part comes down this *Niagara* Fall. Before the water comes to this island, it runs but slowly, compar'd with its motion when it approaches the island, where it grows the most rapid water in the World, running with a surprizing swiftness before it comes to the Fall; it is quite white, and in many places is thrown high up into the air! The greatest and strongest battoes would here in a moment be turn'd over and over. The water that goes down on the west side of the island, is more rapid, in greater abundance, whiter, and seems almost to outdo an arrow in swiftness. When you are at the Fall, and look up the river, you may see, that the river above the Fall is every where exceeding steep, almost as the side of a

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hill

hill. When all this water comes to the very Fall, there it throws itself down perpendicular! It is beyond all belief the surprize when you see this! I cannot with words express how amazing it is! You cannot see it without being quite terrified; to behold so vast a quantity of water falling headlong from a surprizing height! I doubt not but you have a desire to learn the exact height of this great Fall. Father *Hennepin*, supposes it 600 Feet perpendicular; but he has gained little credit in *Canada*; the name of honour they give him there, is *un grand Menteur*, or *The great Liar*; he writes of what he saw in places where he never was. 'tis true he saw this Fall: but as it is the way of some travellers to magnify every thing, so has he done with regard to the fall of *Niagara*. This humour of travellers, has occasioned me many disappointments in my travels, having seldom been so happy as to find the wonderful things that had been related by others. For my part, who am not fond of the *Marvellous*, I like to see things just as they are, and so to relate them. Since Father *Hennepin's* time, this Fall by all the accounts that have been given of it, has grown less and less; and those who have measur'd it with mathematical instruments find the perpendicular fall of the water to be exactly 137 feet. Monsr. *Morandrier*, the king's engineer in *Canada*,

Canada, assured me, and gave it me also under his hand, that 137 Feet was precisely the height of it; and all the *French* Gentlemen that were present with me at the Fall, did agree with him, without the least contradiction: it is true, those who have try'd to measure it with a line, find it sometimes 140, sometimes 150 feet, and sometimes more; but the reason is, it cannot that way be measured with any certainty, the water carrying away the Line.—When the water is come down to the bottom of the rock of the Fall, it jumps back to a very great height in the air; in other places it is white as milk or snow; and all in motion like a boiling chaldron.—You may remember, to what a great distance *Hennepin* says the noise of this great Fall may be heard. All the gentlemen who were with me, agreed, that the farthest one can hear it, is 15 leagues, and that very seldom. When the air is quite calm, you can hear it to *Niagara* Fort; but seldom at other times, because when the wind blows, the waves of *Lake Ontario* make too much noise there against the Shore.—They inform'd me, that when they hear at the Fort the noise of the Fall, louder than ordinary, they are sure a North East Wind will follow, which never fails: this seems wonderful, as the Fall is South West from the Fort: and one would imagine it to be rather a sign of a contrary wind. Sometimes,

times, 'tis said, the Fall makes a much greater noise than at other times; and this is look'd upon as a certain mark of approaching bad weather, or rain; the *Indians* here hold it always for a sure sign. When I was there, it did not make an extraordinary great noise; just by the Fall, we could easily hear what each other said, without speaking much louder than common when conversing in other places. I do not know how others have found so great a noise here; perhaps it was at certain times, as abovementioned. From the Place where the water falls, there rise abundance of vapours, like the greatest and thickest smoak, sometimes more, sometimes less: these vapours rise high in the air when it is calm, but are dispers'd by the wind when it blows hard. If you go nigh to this vapour or fog, or if the wind blows it on you, it is so penetrating, that in a few minutes you will be as wet as if you had been under water. I got two young *Frenchmen* to go down, to bring me from the side of the Fall at the bottom, some of each of the several kinds of herbs, stones and shells they should find there; they returned in a few minutes, and I really thought they had fallen into the water: they were obliged to strip themselves quite naked, and hang their clothes in the sun to dry. When you are on the other East side of the Lake *Ontario*, a great many leagues from the Fall,

you

you may, every clear and calm morning see the vapours of the Fall rising in the air ; you would think all the woods thereabouts were set on fire by the *Indians*, so great is the apparent smoak. In the same manner you may see it on the West side of the lake *Erie*, a great many leagues off.

Several of the *French* gentlemen told me, that when birds come flying into this fog or smoak of the fall, they fall down and perish in the Water ; either because their wings are become wet, or that the noise of the fall astonishes them, and they know not where to go in the Dark : but others were of opinion, that seldom or never any bird perishes there in that manner ; because, as they all agreed, among the abundance of birds found dead below the fall, there are no other sorts than such as live and swim frequently in the water ; as swans, geese, ducks, water-hens, teal, and the like. And very often great flocks of them are seen going to destruction in this manner : they swim in the river above the fall, and so are carried down lower and lower by the water, and as water-fowl commonly take great delight in being carry'd with the stream, so here they indulge themselves in enjoying this pleasure so long, till the swiftness of the water becomes so great, that 'tis no longer possible for them to rise, but they are driven down the precipice, and perish. They are observ'd when they draw

draw nigh the fall, to endeavour with all their might, to take wing and leave the water, but they cannot. In the months of *September* and *October*, such abundant quantities of dead waterfowl are found every morning below the Fall, on the shore, that the garrison of the fort for a long time live chiefly upon them; besides the fowl, they find also several sorts of dead fish, also deer, bears, and other animals which have tried to cross the water above the fall; the larger animals are generally found broken to pieces. Just below the fall the water is not rapid, but goes all in circles and whirls like a boiling pot; which however doth not hinder the *Indians* going upon it in small canoes a fishing; but a little lower begins the smaller fall. When you are above the fall, and look down, your head begins to turn: the *French* who have been here 100 times, will seldom venture to look down, without at the same time keeping fast hold of some tree with one hand.

It was formerly thought impossible for any body living to come at the Island that is in the middle of the fall: but an accident that happen'd 12 years ago, or thereabouts, made it appear otherwise. The history is this. Two *Indians* of the *Six Nations* went out from *Niagara* fort, to hunt upon an island that is in the middle of the river, or strait, above the great fall, on which there used to be abundance of deer. They took some *French* brandy with them

them, from the fort, which they tasted several times as they were going over the carrying place; and when they were in the canoe, they took now and then a dram, and so went along up the strait towards the Island where they propos'd to hunt; but growing sleepy, they laid themselves down in the canoe, which getting loose drove back with the stream, farther and farther down till it came nigh that island that is in the middle of the fall. Here one of them, awakened by the noise of the fall, cries out to the other, that they were gone! yet they try'd if possible to save life. This island was nighest, and with much working they got on shore there. At first they were glad; but when they had consider'd every thing, they thought themselves hardly, in a better state than if they had gone down the fall, since they had now no other choice, than either to throw themselves down the same, or to perish with hunger. But hard necessity put them on invention. At the lower end of the island the rock is perpendicular, and no water is running there. This island has plenty of wood, they went to work directly and made a ladder or shrouds of the bark of lindentree, (which is very tough and strong,) so long 'till they could with it reach the water below; one end of this bark ladder they tied fast to a great tree that grew at the side of the rock above the fall, and let the other end down

to the water. So they went down along their new-invented stairs; and when they came to the bottom in the middle of the fall, they rested a little; and as the water next below the fall is not rapid, as beforementioned, they threw themselves out into it, thinking to swim on shore. I have said before, that one part of the fall is on one side of the island, the other on the other side. Hence it is, that the waters of the two cataracts running against each other, turn back against the rock that is just under the island. Therefore, hardly had the *Indians* began to swim, before the waves of the eddy threw them with violence against the rock from whence they came. They tried it several times, but at last grew weary; and being often thrown against the rock they were much bruised, and the skin of their bodies torn in many places. So they were obliged to climb up their stairs again to the island, not knowing what to do. After some time they perceived *Indians* on the shore, to whom they cried out. These saw and pity'd them, but gave them little hopes of help: yet they made haste down to the fort, and told the commander where two of their brethren were. He persuaded them to try all possible means of relieving the two poor *Indians*; and it was done in this manner. The water that runs on the east side of this island is shallow, especially

a little above the island towards the eastern shore. The commandant caused poles to be made and pointed with iron: two *Indians* determined to walk to this island by the help of these poles, to save the other poor creatures, or perish themselves. They took leave of all their friends as if they were going to death. Each had two such poles in his hands, to set against the bottom of the stream, to keep them steady. So they went and got to the island, and having given poles to the two poor *Indians* there, they all returned safely to the main. Those two *Indians* who in the above mentioned manner were first brought to this island, are yet alive. They were nine days on the island, and almost starved to death.*

—Now since the way to this island has been found, the *Indians* go there often to kill deer, which having tried to cross the river above the fall, were driven upon the island by the stream: but if the King of *France* would give me all *Canada*, I would not venture to go to this island; and were you to see it, Sir, I am sure you would have the same sentiment. On the west side of this island are some small islands or rocks of no consequence. The east

* These *Indians* had better fortune than 10 or 12 *Utowawa's* who attempting to escape here the pursuit of their Enemies of the *Six Nations*, were carried down the Cataract, by the violence of the stream and every one perished.—No part even of their Canoe being ever seen again.

side of the river is nearly perpendicular, the west side more sloping. In former times a part of the rock at the Fall which is on the west side of the island, hung over in such a manner, that the water which fell perpendicularly from it, left a vacancy below, so that people could go under between the rock and the water ; but the prominent part some years since broke off and fell down ; so that there is now no possibility of going between the falling water and the rock, as the water now runs close to it all the way down.——The breadth of the Fall, as it runs into a semicircle, is reckon'd to be about 6 Arpents. The island is in the middle of the Fall, and from it to each side is almost the same breadth : the breadth of the island at its lower end is two thirds of an Arpent, or thereabouts.——Below the Fall in the holes of the rocks, are great plenty of Eels, which the *Indians* and *French* catch with their hands without other means ; I sent down two *Indian* boys, who directly came up with about twenty fine ones.——Every day, when the Sun shines, you see here from 10 o'clock in the morning to 2 in the afternoon, below the Fall, and under you, when you stand at the side over the Fall, a glorious rainbow and sometimes two rainbows, one within the other.

I was

I was so happy to be at the Fall on a fine clear day, and it was with great delight I view'd this rainbow, which had almost all the colours you see in a rainbow in the air. The more vapours, the brighter and clearer is the rainbow. I saw it on the East side of the Fall in the bottom under the place where I stood, but above the water. When the wind carries the vapours from that place, the rainbow is gone, but appears again as soon as new vapours come. From the Fall to the landing above the Fall, where the canoes from Lake *Erie* put on shore, (or from the Fall to the upper end of the carrying-place) is half a mile. Lower the canoes dare not come, lest they should be obliged to try the fate of the two *Indians*, and perhaps with less success.— They have often found below the Fall pieces of human bodies, perhaps of drunken *Indians*, that have unhappily came down the Fall. I was told at *Oswego*, that in *October*, or thereabouts, such plenty of feathers are to be found here below the Fall, that a man in a days time can gather enough of them for several beds, which feathers they said came off the birds kill'd at the Fall. I ask'd the *French*, if this was true? They told me they had never seen any such thing; but that if the feathers were pick'd off the dead birds, there might be such a quantity. The *French* told me, they had often thrown whole great trees into the

the water above, to see them tumble down the Fall. They went down with surprising swiftness, but could never be seen afterwards; whence it was thought there was a bottomless deep or abyſs juſt under the Fall. I am alſo of Opinion, that there muſt be a vaſt deep here; yet I think if they had watched very well, they might have found the trees at ſome diſtance below the Fall. The rock of the Fall conſiſts of a grey liſtſtone.

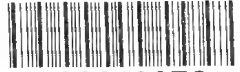
Here you have, Sir, a ſhort but exact deſcription of this famous *Niagara* cataract: you may depend on the truth of what I write. You muſt excuſe me if you find in my account, no extravagant wonders. I cannot make nature otherwiſe than I find it. I had rather it ſhould be ſaid of me in time to come, that I related things as they were, and that all is found to agree with my Deſcription; than to be eſteem'd a falſe Relater. I have ſeen ſome other things in this my journey, an account of which I know would gratify your curioſity; but time at preſent will not permit me to write more; and I hope ſhortly to ſee you. I am, &c.

PETER KALM.

EDWIN I. S.



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